

**'Old England's New Aesthetic Training Shipping': spatial,
disciplinary and health practices on the School Board
for London's industrial school ship, TS *Shaftesbury*
1878-1898.**

Jamie Nightingale

Department of History

Royal Holloway, University of London

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Doctor of Philosophy**

Supervised by Dr Jane Hamlett

Declaration of Authorship

I, Jamie Nightingale, hereby declare that this thesis and the work presented in it is entirely my own. Where I have consulted the work of others, this is always clearly stated.

Signed: _____

Date: _____

Abstract

In 1878, the School Board for London launched the TS *Shaftesbury*, an industrial school training ship. Part reformatory, part refuge, it was tasked with training the capital's truants, 'street arabs', and neglected children for employment at sea. Historians and sociologists have often depicted industrial schools (and school ships) as squalid, barrack-like, de-humanising institutions. Conversely, the *Shaftesbury* was most often critiqued in its day as a floating symbol of the Board's weakness for luxurious furnishing and 'feminising' progressive pedagogy. My thesis is presented in three parts. In the first chapters I reconstruct the ship as a cultural entity through its presentation in the press, as well as offering a detailed 'walk through' of the material and cultural spaces on board. In chapters four and five, I seek to challenge and nuance common tropes about industrial school ships that appear in academic literature. Chapter four challenges the view that the *Shaftesbury* operated a punitive disciplinary regime based around harsh physical punishments. Chapter five examines the *Shaftesbury's* involvement with the sea-trade, often cited as a source of cruelty and economic slavery in the existing literature. The final two chapters deal, broadly, with notions of health and isolation. Chapter six explores the discursive construction of the ship as a space of moral isolation and transformation for its inmates, away from corrupted home environments. Weighing the 'border' practices between ship and home, I suggest the importance of uniform and clothing as a signifier of transformation. Chapter seven explores the rationales and practices of the *Shaftesbury's* medical spaces, particularly those related to isolation, quarantine and ventilation. There currently exists very little academic literature on industrial school ships per se, and the thesis attempts to both provide a detailed physical and cultural account of the ship, whilst situating it within contemporary and recent readings of its functionality. The themes of space – including literal spaces, aesthetics, spatial freedoms, 'border practices' – and appearance are returned to throughout the thesis as both foci and tools of explication.

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¹ Image from P&O Archive Factsheet: 94030NUBIA-1854.

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Ballad of the (School-Board) Fleet²

Which my name is Stoker Bill,
And a pleasant post I fill,
And the care the ladies take of me is clipping;
And they've made me pretty snug
With a blooming Persian rug
In the Ladies' Model School-board Training Shipping!

There's my Whistler etchings there,
As are quite beyond compare,
And a portrait of Miss Connie Gilchrist skipping;
From such art we all expect
Quite a softening effect,
In the Ladies' Model School-board Training Shipping.³

And my beer comes in a mug,
Such a rare old Rhodian jug,
And here I sits aesthetically sipping;
And the curtains – I am certain
Mr. Morris made each curtain⁴

² A satire on the *Shaftesbury* by Andrew Lang published in OCCASIONAL NOTES. *The Pall Mall Gazette*, December 3 1879. Subsequently a revised version was published in *The Poetical Works of Andrew Lang* (London: Longmans and Green, 1923) with the alterations including those listed below, and title amended to include: '(after Tenny's Battle of the Fleet')'. No direct reference is made to the *Shaftesbury* by name, but the contemporary audience would be in no doubt as to the target of the satire.

³ In the anthologized version, this line reads: 'In the Ladies' new Aesthetic Training Shipping.'

⁴ Lines 4-6 of this stanza in the 1923 version read:

'And I drinks my grog or ale
On a chair by Chippendale –
We've no others in our Model Training Shipping.'

In the Ladies' Model School-board Training Shipping.

And the boys - the boys they stands
With white lilies in their hands,
And they do not know the meaning of a whipping;
For the whole delightful ship is
Like a dream of Lippo Lippi's,
Is the Ladies' Model School-board Training Shipping

And the First Lieutenant too,
Is a fine old (China) blue,
And you do not very often catch him tripping
At a monogram or mark,
But - no more than Noah's ark -
Does he know the way to manage this 'ere shipping.

Well, some chaps they cuts up rough,
And they call aesthetics stuff,
And they says as how we oughtn't to keep dipping
In the rates; but ladies likes it,
And my flag I never strikes it;
Bless old England's new aesthetic training shipping!

Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction

Perhaps naturally, given their literal anchorages between land and open sea, industrial training ships can be viewed as definitively liminal institutions. On one hand the communities seem devoted to the classic stages of van Gennep's 'rites of passage', taking in dangerous or neglected youth from squalid city slums and transforming them into able seamen fit to sail the empire.¹ On the other, the ships exemplify confusing bureaucratic borders in the emergent interventionist state: between the criminal and deserving poor, educative and penal institutions; between the old, private philanthropy and the new, democratic school boards. Unfortunately, the historiography of industrial training ships could be said to mirror this liminality. The ships are moored between the traditional territory of the naval and education historian, between the traditions of the industrial school and navy training vessel.² There is an absence of any major academic study on how industrial and reformatory training ships were 'financed, regulated and managed'.³ Accounts of industrial ships tend to be the preserve of the amateur historian writing for a local press, or addenda to works on other subjects. Even the most rudimentary aspects of the institutional culture that shaped the working-class lives on board remain scarcely narrated.

My research aims to call attention to the complexity of these important institutions, and challenge many of the assumptions made about them in

¹ Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Trans. Vizedom, M.B and Caffee, G.L.) (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1977).

² Between the real and simulated vessel, perhaps. In the blizzards of 1881, the *Shaftesbury* was knocked off its moorings and there was great difficulty moving the 'top heavy' and 'unwieldy' ship back: its 'conversion to a training ship made her unsuitable for sailing, as she was now more suited to being stationary.' Peter Benson, *Where the bad boys go: The story of the training ship Shaftesbury moored in the Thames off Grays Thurrock 1878-1905* (Thurrock: Thurrock Museum Press, 2013), p. 108.

³ I.D. Cowan, 'Certified Industrial Training ships c. 1860-1913', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 16:1 (1984), 1-9, p. 1; and still true today.

academic literature on the history of education or care provision. It focuses exclusively on the culture of one industrial training ship, the *Shaftesbury*, an institution caught between the School Board for London's (SBL) modernising agenda and the anachronistic culture of the industrial training ship tradition.

This introductory chapter is split into three sections. The first two deal with the origins and cultures of the institutional species to which the *Shaftesbury* belonged. The *Shaftesbury* was variously known as an industrial training ship and an industrial school ship, the latter title reflecting its legal position as an industrial school on water. Section one explores the institutional history of the industrial school and ends by discussing the institution's significance for the SBL. Section two presents the distinct history of the industrial school ship: its antecedents, varieties, literatures and cultures. The final section of this chapter concerns the foci, aims, and structure of the thesis ahead.

Section One: Industrial Schools

1.1.0 *Origins: The Reformatory Institution*

By the 1820s, there was a growing concern about petty crime and vagrancy amongst children in large towns and cities.⁴ Urbanization and the new employment regimes of the industrial revolution led to an increase in crimes linked to poverty and to increased levels of incarceration.⁵ In living memory of the French Revolution, and in an era that produced the Peterloo Massacre, the issue was treated as a portent of society's moral, social, and economic collapse.

⁴ Michael Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain: The Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution, 1750-1850* (London: The MacMillan Press, 1978); Peter King, 'The rise of Juvenile Delinquency in England 1780-1840: Changing Patterns of Perception and Prosecution', *Past and Present*, 160 (1998), pp. 116-166.; Margaret May, 'Innocence and Experience: The Evolution of the Concept of Juvenile Delinquency in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Victorian Studies*, 17:1 (1973), pp. 7-29.

⁵ John Hurt, 'Reformatory and Industrial schools before 1933, *History of Education*, 13:1 (1984), p. 45: 'In 1776 John Howard's prison census listed only 653 petty offenders, 15-9% of the total in confinement. The incidence of the use of imprisonment at the Old Bailey increased from 1-2% of all cases in the years 1760 to 1764 to 28-3% thirty years later.'

By mid-century, the preoccupation with 'juvenile delinquency' had left new offences, fuller jails, transported infants, and new aspirational urban identities in its wake. As Micheal Ignatieff of *Some Measure of Pain*, notes, there developed a growing unease amongst those within the legal system that sentencing juveniles to prison was making matters worse.⁶

Although common on the European Continent from the beginning of the nineteenth century,⁷ the notion of reformatory institutions as an alternative or adjunct to penal incarceration for younger offenders first appeared on British shores in Scotland in the 1840s.⁸ These were 'Reformatory' schools offering moral and manual training for criminal children, and 'Industrial Feeding' schools 'providing board, lodging and training for vagrant children'.⁹ Meanwhile in England, the subject of how to approach 'juvenile delinquency' was suffering from what Peter King has sensitively called a 'set of discourses'.¹⁰ The Philanthropic Society ran 'workshop cottages' (separately) for criminal and at-risk youth in London in the late eighteenth century, and the Chelsea 'School of Discipline' operated from the mid-1820s, but there was an absence of the singular vision found both in Europe and Scotland. Thus we also find Parkhurst Prison (1838-1864), dedicated to youthful offenders, which learnt little from the progressive models North of the border (although inmates might have preferred its 'extremely harsh' regime to a term aboard the *Euryalus* (1825-1843), a 'prison hulk' for child prisoners which it replaced).¹¹ Following her 1851 treatise *Reformatory Schools for the Perishing and Dangerous Classes and for the Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency*, Bristolean 'evangelical philanthropist' Mary Carpenter became the engine behind a campaign seeking consolidated

⁶ Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain*, p. 186.

⁷ Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood, *A History of English Criminal Law and its administration from 1750. Vol 5* (London: Stevens, 1986). The authors make the case that this is one of the few examples where continental policy has directly influenced the consideration of domestic English law.

⁸ Robin Betts, *Dr Macnamara 1861-1931*. (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1999); Pamela Cox, *Gender, Justice and Welfare: Bad Girls in Britain, 1900-1950*. (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003).

⁹ Betts, p. 76.

¹⁰ Peter King, p. 160.

¹¹ D. H. Thomas, 'The Chester Industrial School, 1863-1908', *Journal of Educational Administration and History*, 13:2 (1981), p. 7.

reformatory school legislation. Carpenter became a key member of the Royal Statistical Society and her work used statistics as well as religious imagery to considerable effect in her campaigning, suggesting environment as the primary causal agent in 'degeneracy'. As Stack reminds us, however, although the reformatory school was initially championed as a way of diverting children away from prison, the subsequent 1854 Youthful Offenders Act only allowed (not compelled) children to be sent to reformatory schools *after* serving their custodial sentences. Carpenter went on to publish further key works on the case for reformatory schools, and establish her own, but reformers' attention turned to 'industrial schools', envisioned as boarding versions of the popular 'ragged schools'.¹²

1.1.1 Industrial Schools and the 1866 Act

Industrial schools were more suited to the 'humanitarian' reformatory lobby's agenda.¹³ An early English proto-type - the Middlesex Industrial School, founded in 1854 but not opened in until 1859 - for 'criminal' children *without charge* proved influential even in development.¹⁴ A series of Industrial Schools Acts followed in 1857, 1861 and 1866. The schools were residential institutions that provided training in a variety of industries for their 'inmates'. The industrial school was required to 'teach, train, clothe, lodge and feed' its inmates 'in no case beyond ... the age of sixteen', with the managers acting *in loco parentis*.¹⁵ Previous to the 1866 Act, although local authorities may have interpreted the

¹² See Radzinowicz and Hood, *A History of English Criminal Law* for the relation between the ragged school and industrial school movements. Also, for a contemporary suggestion of convergence: Robert Spence Watson, *Industrial Schools* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Ragged and Industrial Schools Press, 1867),

¹³ John A. Stack, 'Reformatory and industrial schools and the decline of child imprisonment in mid-Victorian England and Wales', *History of Education*, 23:1 (1994), pp. 59-73; Francesca Ashurst and Couze Venn, *Inequality, poverty, education: a political economy of school exclusion* (London: Palgrave, 2014).

¹⁴ Children labelled as criminal 'without charge' had narrowly avoided convictions. They were seen to be on the cusp of criminal conviction, either through moral defect or through association with criminals, but still at a point where they could be rescued.

¹⁵ Industrial Schools Act 1866, 29 & 30 VICT. C. 118: 18.

regulations more broadly, industrial schools only officially accepted vagrant children. From the passing of the Act, 'any child apparently under the age of 14' could be taken before two justices or a magistrate by anybody. Records testify not only to this being parents and guardians alleging their children were out of control,¹⁶ but, increasingly officers informally or formally charged with the task of finding boys.¹⁷ The importance of the industrial school was that it offered magistrates a way to sentence children to an institution without formally charging them. The conditions of entry to an industrial school in the Act were:

14. [Any child t]hat is found begging or receiving alms (whether actually or under the pretext of selling or offering for sale any thing), or being in any street or public place for the purposes or so begging or receiving alms.

That is found wandering and not having any home or settled place of abode, or proper guardianship, or visible means of subsistence.

That is found destitute, either being an orphan or having a surviving parent who is undergoing penal servitude or imprisonment.

That frequents the company of reputed thieves.¹⁸

15. Where a child apparently under the age of twelve years is charged¹⁹...with an offence punishable by imprisonment or a less punishment...and the child ought, in the opinion of the justices or magistrates (regard being had to his age and to the circumstances of the case, to be dealt with under this Act [...].

¹⁶ Watson, *Industrial Schools*: p. 4: children who are 'so refractory as to be unmanageable in a poor man's home, with the small means and little time which he has at his disposal to devote to them ... In this case the parent must be prepared to pay for them.'

¹⁷ See Rob Roy, *The Boys' Beadle* (London: Reformatory and Refuge Union, 1871). These were agents employed since 1867 by the Reformatory and Refuge Union 'to carry out the Industrial Schools Act, and to care for neglected children in London'. They had no official status, uniform or powers.

¹⁸ A statute followed in which this was amended to include prostitutes.

¹⁹ A footnote to the Act confirms that as some industrial schools do not accept boys charged with an offence, the judge or magistrate would in fact 'dismiss the charge' they are about to levy, under the provisions of the 1854 Juvenile Offenders Act, before sending the child to the industrial school.

16. Where the parent of step-parent or guardian of a child apparently under the age of fourteen years represents to two justices or a magistrate that he is unable to control the child, and that he desires that the child be sent to an industrial school under this Act [...].²⁰

There were also allowances for Poor Law guardians and parish boards to bring cases of 'refractory' children to the attention of the courts under the Act,²¹ but these appear to have been little used. Additional avenues of entry were added during the period under question. The children of any woman convicted of a second crime, if they were under fourteen in her care at the time of the offence, and without means or guardianship, could find themselves ordered to an industrial training school under the 1871 Prevention of Crimes Act.²² The 1876 Education Act also led to children being sent to industrial schools due to parents failing to comply with attendance orders, in the absence of day industrial school places.²³ Finally, the Industrial Schools Amendment Act of 1880 allowed police to take children away from premises believed to be brothels and admit them to industrial schools.²⁴

The schools were privately run, but officially certified and inspected.²⁵ Managers wishing to alter their 'rules for the management of discipline' had to receive official approval from the Secretary of State in order to remain

²⁰ In this case the "parent, step-parent or other person legally liable, may be ordered to contribute towards the maintenance of any child so sent to an Industrial School a sum not exceeding five shillings a week", 16 n(n).

²¹ Industrial Schools Act 1866, 29 & 30 VICT. C. 118: 17.

²² Emrys Wyn Roberts, *The 'Clio', 1877-1920: A study of the functions of an industrial training ship in North Wales* (Phllheli: Llgad Gwalch, 2011), p. 44.

²³ Roberts, p. 45.

²⁴ Helen Rogers, (2006). 'Women and Liberty', in *Liberty and Authority in Victorian Britain*, ed. By Peter Mandler (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), p. 148. Rogers goes on to quote a the Journal of the Vigilance Association in November 1882 critiquing the legislation as "'the wholesale kidnapping of little girls who may not have perfect domestic surroundings and their consignment to large prison schools'" (p. 90), which gives a sense of industrial schools' reputation amongst contemporary libertarians.

²⁵ By the Inspector of Industrial and Reformatory Schools. In the 1880s pressure was exerted for the Admiralty to take over – or contribute towards – inspection of industrial training ships due worries over the skills taught. See, for example, Watson.

certified,²⁶ although the literature on industrial training ships suggests that many of the regimes on board were heavily influenced by the eccentricities of authority figures. Hurt notes how little power the Home Office held over the institutions:

Model rules for reformatories and industrial schools, unlike those of the Local Government Board [over workhouses] lacked the force of law. Hence when the Home Office tried to curb excessive use of corporal punishment in the early 1880s it could only request, not require, superintendents to display monthly records in the schools of the punishments inflicted; a request that many refused to meet.²⁷

The Home Office also held no power to block or dismiss superintendents. Schools received funding from five principal sources: public fundraising and legacies, school boards, rates, Treasury grants and monies gained by selling goods made aboard. Table 1 details the individual contributions from each of these parties (excepting those from sale of goods, although this did not appear to have applied to all industrial training ships) for 1867 and 1893. Following the 1870 Education

Source	1867 £	1893 £
The Treasury	31,724	196,940
Parents	1,869	15,737
Rates	19,652	48,768
School boards	-----	84,677
Subscription, &c	23,011	35,239
TOTAL	87,825	406,883

Table 1: Sources of funding for industrial schools 1867 and 1893.²⁸

²⁶ Industrial Schools Act 1866, 29 & 30 VICT. C. 118: 29.

²⁷ Hurt, 'Reformatory and industrial schools', p52.

²⁸ John Watson, 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society*, 59:2 (1896), p. 277.

Act, the school boards started making contributions in 1871 (fixed at 2 s. two shillings per week, per boy): the total amount paid to industrial schools in that year being merely £2,982. Training ships, more expensive than other industrial schools to fit-out and run, were never adequately funded. According to Cowan, they 'received six shillings per week per boy,' under the 1866 Act, 'and the Education Act of 1876 allowed two or three shillings and sixpence according to circumstances. These amounts were fixed, and made no allowance for increasing costs as the years passed, which resulted in a greater burden falling on the rates.'²⁹ The training of inmates took different forms, from farm schools in the country,³⁰ and school ships on busy rivers, to those teaching conventional trades. The schools 'usually released children for licensed residential employment at 14 or 15, but could recall them if necessary until they were 16.'³¹ In 1895, 'a short but valuable Act was passed' which meant that inmates dismissed from industrial schools could remain under supervision from managers until they turned eighteen, and could be recalled to the school at any point up until the age.³² If the *Shaftesbury* was typical, an informal version of this had already been operating on industrial training ships in the years before. A transfer log recorded frequent enquiries into boys' lives years after they had left the superintendent's care. Of course, many boys – even those not indentured – were passed on to the ships' shipping agent, or stayed at the old boys' ships cabin when in port, so an informal network was maintained.³³ Following the 1870 Forster Act, as Roberts documents, schools did not recruit exclusively from their area but often negotiated deals with school boards across the country.³⁴ As the example of training ships show, there was some variance in the 'industrial' aspect of the schooling, although all schools had to teach the revised code in accordance with standard 'half-time' practice to maintain its certification. There were occasional scandals such as the abuse and neglect at St. Paul Industrial School investigated by the SBL in 1881. In this, and other cases, the division of power between the

²⁹ Cowan, p. 3.

³⁰ Roberts, p. 130.

³¹ David Rubinstein, *School Attendance in London 1870-1904: A Social History* (Hull: University of Hull, 1969), p. 53.

³² Watson, 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools', p. 274.

³³ Peter Benson, *Where the bad boys go*.

³⁴ Roberts, *The 'Clio'*.

Board and the Home Office seems to have contributed to the failure of the authorities to intervene on behalf of the children, as both the Home Office and School Board feared over-reaching their remit.³⁵

1.1.2 *The Industrial Schools Act and the Penal System*

The 1866 Act enshrined the complementary nature of reformatory and industrial schools in late Victorian society³⁶. The difference between them was ‘predicated on the assumption that there was a clear divide between criminal and vagrant or ill-cared for children’³⁷. Industrial schools were ‘preventative’ institutions: ‘inmates are children who are in danger, from whatever cause, of falling into crime against man’s laws, although, as yet, innocent or nearly so’³⁸. Although Radzinowicz and Hood have argued that by ‘1870 it was difficult to see any real distinction except that the industrial schools dealt with the younger and less criminal portion of the same class which the reformatory schools received’. Indeed, Michelle Cole posits reformatory and industrial Schools (as well as the later additions of day industrial schools and truant schools) as constituting ‘the reformatory system’. Francis Lascelles’ 1870 anthology *The Laws Affecting Juvenile Offenders*,³⁹ in which the Reformatory and Industrial Schools Acts of 1866 are both included, shows this to be more than just a modern gloss. The two institutions offer a kind of ‘complete service’ for delinquent children when combined with the 1847 Juvenile Offenders Act. The latter Act allowed magistrates to use the reformatory and industrial schools for referrals, but Ireland cautions against perceptions of any major change in the treatment of inmates: ‘[t]hose who discuss the “specialist institutionalisation” of the new reformatory [or industrial] schools must presumably ignore or marginalize not

³⁵ Jane Martin, ‘Hard-Headed and Large-Hearted’: Women and the Industrial Schools, 1870-1885’, *History of Education*, 20:3 (1991), pp. 187-201.

³⁶ In fact, they were ‘amalgamated by the 1933 Children and Young Persons Act, and renamed “approved schools”’: c.f. Cox, *Gender, Justice and Welfare*, p. 24.

³⁷ Sir Leon Radzinowicz and Roger Hood, *A History of English Criminal Law*.

³⁸ Watson, *Industrial Schools*, p. 3. Watson was a secretary to the Newcastle Ragged and Industrial School.

³⁹ Francis H. Lascelles, *The Laws Affecting Juvenile Offenders* (London: Henry Sweet, 1870).

only the whipped but also those who continue to be incarcerated in the “adult” prison.’⁴⁰

The official statistics for 1869, given by Lascelles, show that the national combined reformatory and industrial school referrals constituted 4,135 compared with just under 12,000 total juvenile commitments. Juveniles under sixteen found guilty at the magistrates were more often fined, imprisoned (for up to three months), whipped (if over ten) or discharged. Those refusing to ‘conform to the rules’ or escaping from industrial schools were to be imprisoned for up to three months, then released into the care of a reformatory school. Magistrates were notoriously distrustful of industrial schools for some offences, although the training ships fared slightly better in the judicial imagination.⁴¹ Up until the Forster Act, one may argue, industrial schools can be considered welfare and training establishments *within* the penal system. Whatever industrial schools did for prison authorities, however, it was not to substantially reduce the number of children in adult gaols. Despite the fact that the Kent magistrates had gained authorization by general sessions to fund any sentencing to reformatory or industrial schools, for example, the ‘ratio of juveniles to adults in Kentish prisons did not change between 1859 and 1880.’⁴² Stack’s⁴³ in-depth examination of industrial schools and prison statistics from the era confirms this pattern across the country. Stack argues that because of the offending profiles (and young ages) of the children sent to industrial schools, they only contributed to a small decline of 7-11 year olds entering prison. Splitting the proponents of reformatory provision up into humanitarians (e.g. Mary Carpenter) and hardliners, he suggests that greatest effect of the industrial schools on the prison system was as a propaganda and conversation point for the humanitarians’ campaign.

⁴⁰ Richard Ireland, *A want of good order and discipline’: rules, discretion and the Victorian prison* (Cardiff: Cardiff University Press, 2007).

⁴¹ See Rubinstein, *School Attendance in London*, on the leniency of magistrates on truancy charges, which so infuriated the SBL.

⁴² Carolyn A. Conley, *The Unwritten Law: Criminal Justice in Victorian Kent* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 126.

⁴³ Stack, p. 59.

1.1.3 *Industrial schools and the School Board for London*

Following the 1870 Forster Act, when school boards were given the same rights to ‘fund or found’ industrial schools that the prison authorities had received in the 1866 Industrial Schools Act,⁴⁴ industrial schools came to be more closely aligned with the emergent education, rather than penal, system. Perhaps unexpectedly for such a modernizing body, the School Board for London (SBL) considered the institutions central to its vision for London’s education provision. One of its first official acts was to hire two industrial school officers, before it had built a school or hired a single teacher.⁴⁵ This preference continued. Surveying the 1876 Education Act in 1896, Watson reminds us that the school boards had remit to use ‘four agencies at work towards the elevation and reformation of unfortunate and incorrigible children’. In addition to the truant school, industrial school, and prison there was:

The day industrial schools, intended for a class not necessarily ill behaved, but who, from one or other or both parents being out all day, require a place where they may get their meals and be properly looked after out of school hours.⁴⁶

Despite fierce criticism from reformers the SBL did not open an industrial day school until 1895. Instead it chose to invest heavily in residential industrial and truant schools, building six by 1903 (four industrial schools and two truant schools).⁴⁷ Just as industrial schools had been twinned with reformatories originally to provide ‘alternative provision’ in the penal system, so they began to be twinned with truant schools under the SBL.

This relationship is problematic for recent historians, who suggest that school boards’ appropriation of industrial schools led to the criminalisation and

⁴⁴ Industrial Schools Act 1866, 29 & 30 VICT. C. 118: 12: ‘towards the alteration, enlargement or rebuilding...or towards the support of the inmates...or towards the management...or towards the establishment or building of a school’.

⁴⁵ Rubinstein, *School Attendance in London*.

⁴⁶ John Watson, ‘Reformatory and Industrial Schools’.

⁴⁷ Rubinstein, *School Attendance in London*, p. 54. The *Shaftesbury* training ship is one of these schools. 21,500 were sent to the Board’s own industrial schools alone, slightly more than half that number to its truant schools.

penalisation of the urban poor. The roots of this argument are embedded in the revolutionary nature of the original 1870 Education Act and the introduction of compulsion (via a bye-law) by the SBL in 1871. As Brian Simon has noted, the roll-out of elementary education in the nineteenth century was viewed up until the start of the twentieth century as the 'apotheosis of state intervention' in England.⁴⁸ For Sascha Auerbach, the 1871 decision of the SBL to commit to compulsory education for children up to the age of thirteen was similarly a 'milestone in the evolution of the British interventionist state':

These new laws on education thus redefined the relationship between working-class parents and the state in Victorian London, paving the way for national and local government to take a more active role in the direct regulation of working-class home life than it ever had before.⁴⁹

Auerbach's work typifies the work by historians of education over recent decades. There is an emphasis on the introduction of compulsion as a site of class conflict or cultural hegemony, and its associated practices and institutions as divisive surveillance and disciplinary regimes *qua* Foucault's theoretical conjectures on the penal system.⁵⁰

The SBL's use of industrial schools has been framed in this context. Compulsory education was not free until 1891, and often seen as insult on top of injury to families already poorer from the loss of a child's income.⁵¹ Jane Martin, for example, suggests that the natural conflict between the cultures of the London School Board and the working-class communities it served was escalated by the SBL's adherence to the 'school-pence' and its use of industrial and truant schools as a related sanction. She draws attention to the fact that 'the Board

⁴⁸ Brian Simon, *The State and Educational Change* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1994), p. 49.

⁴⁹ Sascha Auerbach "'Some punishment should be devised": Parents, children, and the state in Victorian London', *Historian*, 71:4 (2009), p. 760.

⁵⁰ Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979).

⁵¹ Hugh B. Philpott, *London at School: The Story of the School Board, 1870-1904* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1904): Philpott recounts that parents picking 'half-time' boys from school joke with the teacher that the child has worked half a day for the teacher, and now must work the other half for them.

consistently refused to put into effect Section 26 of the 1870 Education Act allowing totally free schools to be established in special cases', despite having to re-think its policy for parents who wouldn't or couldn't pay the fee.⁵² In place of a climb-down, Martin suggests, the SBL developed a dedicated legal and penal response. An innocuous 'A' Warning that a child must attend school was followed by an infamous 'B' Notice summoning parents to a meeting of an SBL divisional committee. For parents this could mean time away from work, travel a considerable distance, and an interview hinged on deciding if they were deserving or undeserving poor.⁵³ Finally, for those families unwilling or unable to pay fines or guarantee attendance, the SBL had its detention facilities:

Under the Act of 1866, industrial schools held children whose truancy was combined with homelessness, who frequented the company of criminals or beggars, were beyond parental control or in need of care or protection, whereas truant schools held persistent absentees whose attendance was unlikely to improve without a spell under strict supervision.⁵⁴

David Rubinstein's discussion of the SBL's attendance officers, who were charged with much more than checking on absences, adds depth to this interpretation.⁵⁵ Visitors tended to be drawn from professions that left men able to 'get past' – in both the literal and metaphorical sense – the initial hostility they encountered on the doorstep. Significant proportions were ex-military, police, prison officers.⁵⁶

⁵² Martin, 'Hard-Headed', p. 192. At first children whose parents were in arrears were excluded eventually schools accepted children with limited arrears. Free education did not arrive until 1891.

⁵³ Martin, 'Hard-Headed', p. 193. Martin suggests that many of the SBL members doing the interviewing were also members, or strong supporters, of the Charity Organisation Society and its particular ideology.

⁵⁴ Martin, 'Hard-Headed', p. 193

⁵⁵ It says much about the early SBL's understanding of working class culture and economy in London that they named their attendance enforcers 'visitors' after religious charity workers, and predicted the work would involve 'gentleness and consideration': David Rubinstein, *School Attendance in London 1870-1904: A Social History* (Hull: University of Hull, 1968), p. 43.

⁵⁶ Martin, 'Hard-Headed', p. 44. Even then it was often necessary, in some areas, for them to travel in pairs for safety.

Serving districts, or 'blocks', of 3,000 from 1874⁵⁷, the visitors made lists of all children in their area who fell under the compulsory attendance bye-law and became, in effect, a private police force:

Visitors supplied to each school the names and addresses of the children who should be on its register, investigated and reported on applications for remission of fees, reported infringements of the bye-laws and the Factories and Workshop Acts, and compiled lists of children to be sent to industrial or truant schools. They were required to visit children's homes when consistent absence was reported by schools and to summon parents to attend meetings of the divisional committees of the London School Board. Finally, they were called upon to attend magistrates' courts to give evidence in cases of truancy.⁵⁸

There is thus a suggestion in the literature that the industrial school never quite escaped the orbit of the penal, and that the SBL preferred it above the day industrial school because its practice of removing 'problem' children from their homes was both a great deterrent and 'punishment'.⁵⁹

Following on from this discussion of the industrial school in general, the next section will deal with the specific institutional type of the *Shaftesbury*: the industrial school training ship.

Section Two: Industrial training ships

1.2.0 *Origins: The Reformatory Training Ship*

In a study of the Liverpool Juvenile Reformatory Association (LJRA), Joan Rimmer details the creation of the first of the reformatory (or industrial)

⁵⁷ Martin, 'Hard-Headed', p. 46.

⁵⁸ Rubinstein, *School Attendance in London*, p. 46.

⁵⁹ Pamela Cox, 'Rescue and Reform: Girls, Delinquency and Industrial Schools, 1908-1933' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Cambridge, 1997).

training ships, the *Akbar*.⁶⁰ After the 1854 Youthful Offenders Act gave judges and magistrates the power to send criminals under sixteen to a 'reformatory' institution following a prison stay of two weeks, wealthy philanthropists quickly formed the LJRA and, after discussions with the Admiralty and local port authorities, proposed a reformatory tasked with re-training boys for the merchant marine. Dickenson attributes the 'vision and impetus' of the industrial and reformatory school movement to the Admiralty. Whilst it is certainly true that the Admiralty 'donated or loaned' the old hulks for conversion into training ships,⁶¹ the scheme drew upon far older models well known in the port town. The practice of taking child 'servant apprentices' on board Navy vessels goes at least as far back as the early-eighteenth century, although in practice these were often relatives of, or at least known by, those they were to serve, (along with a small number of 'King's Letter' Volunteers assigned to ships by the Admiralty).⁶² In fact, the Navy only really began instituting its own training vessels at the same time the *Akbar* was launched.⁶³ A more important antecedent is Jonas Hanway's Marine Society, founded in 1756⁶⁴. The society 'guided by a mixture of military, political and philanthropic interests'⁶⁵ advertised publically for boys without means but with 'daring temper' to train as able seamen aboard Royal Navy ships. It was the first institution that helped 'prepare waifs and strays and the sons of criminals for a seafaring life'.⁶⁶ Hanway, and his merchant-philanthropist

⁶⁰ Joan A. Rimmer, *Yesterdays Naughty Children: Training Ship, Girl's Reformatory and Farm School, History of the Liverpool Reformatory Association* (Manchester: Neil Richardson, 1986), p. 39.

⁶¹ Harry W. Dickenson, *Educating the Royal Navy: 18th and 19th Century Education for Officers* (Oxford: Routledge, 2007), p. 63.

⁶² Edward Philips Statham, *The Story of Britannia: The Training Ship for Naval Cadets* (London: Cassell and Company, 1904).

⁶³ See Statham, *The Story of Britannia*; also, Thomas Brassey, *How Best To Improve and Keep Up the Seamen of the Country: A Lecture Delivered To the Royal Service Institution* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1876).

⁶⁴ Roland Pietsch, *The Real Jim Hawkins: Ships' Boys in the Georgian Navy* (Barnley: Seaforth, 2010).

⁶⁵ Roland Pietsch, 'Ships' Boys and Youth Culture in Eighteenth-Century Britain: the Navy Recruits of the London Marine Society', *The Northern Mariner*, 14:4 (2004), p. 12.

⁶⁶ Bob Evans, *The Training Ships of Liverpool* (Birkenhead: Countrywise, 2002), p. 46.

backers, are early examples of the way nationhood became re-defined by statistics in the social imaginary during the period. They worried endlessly over an emergent discourse of numbers: the number of able seamen drafted from the merchant fleets to the Navy, the numbers required to sustain an expansionist Empire, the numbers of children festering in poverty that could be put to good use.⁶⁷ The original scheme was started during the Seven Years War, incorporated by Act of Parliament in 1772 and continues, somewhat altered, today.⁶⁸

The LJRA was the first philanthropic body to re-cast the nautical apprenticeship within the reformatory or industrial school mold. Its voluntary association managed to find subscriptions to cover the expense of refitting the hulk that arrived 'without masts, spars, rigging, boats and general stores',⁶⁹ and its first boys boarded in January 1856. The scheme proved influential. By 1865, berthed at only a few hundred yards distance from one another at Rock Ferry in the Mersey, sat four training ships, each run by a different charitable association: the *Akbar* (a Protestant reformatory ship); the *Clarence* (a Catholic reformatory ship); the *Indefatigable* (run along industrial training ship lines, and certified as such after 1866) and the *Conway* (an officer training ship). This was not a development confined to Lancashire. The Thames, for example, had the *Winchester* and *Chichester* by 1866, the latter the personal project of the Earl who would later give his name to the *Shaftesbury*.

1.2.1 Varieties of Training Ship

The literature identifies four types of training ship, defined by the backgrounds of the boys they accepted and the body managing the vessel, these are: (1) reformatory training ships, (2) industrial training ships, (3) ships that accept poor law children or waifs outside the Industrial School Act, and (4) officer training ships (into which we may add the first Royal Navy training ship of this era, *The Implacable*, opened in Plymouth 1855). There is some indecision in the

⁶⁷ James S. Taylor, 'Philanthropy and Empire: Jonas Hanway and the Infant Poor of London', *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, 12:3 (1979), pp. 285-305.

⁶⁸ Evans, p. 34.

⁶⁹ Cowan, p. 2.

available literature as to the status of particular ships - *The Indefatigable*, for example – which inhabit the grey area between the second and third categories.⁷⁰ This is explained by the fact that many un-certified training ships that took poor law or other destitute children also, frequently, took boys under the Industrial Schools Act.⁷¹ Historians have yet to offer a comparative study of the cultures aboard these different types of training ships. The literature suggests that a poor mooring position and inadequate expenditure on basics (such as blighted the *Clio*) could reduce the quality of life on board an industrial training ship to the ‘hard labour, hard fare and hard bed’ philosophy of the reformatory ship.⁷² Illustrations of the berthing on the Mersey are remarkable not only for the ships proximity to one another, but also for the physical similarities of the different ships. Even though John Masefield found plenty of time in the more relaxed atmosphere of the *Conway* to hear and tell yarns, the basic nature of life aboard an anachronistic, wooden sailing vessel forced certain rhythms of life on their inhabitants. Even so, the relationships between the ships sometimes seem like microcosms of society ashore: the Catholic reformatory boys, forced from the *Akbar* by Protestant administrators, burnt out successive versions of their own ship (1884 and 1889), for example, and the *Akbar* used to ‘lend’ its inmates to clean the *Conway* before the middle-class trainees returned from holidays.

1.2.2 The Industrial Training Ship

The specific focus of this study, the *Shaftesbury*, was an industrial training ship. These institutions, used by the SBL from 1871, were certified under the 1866

⁷⁰ Cowan suggest that the ‘*Indie*’ was established under the 1856 Act and subsequently used subscription as its only source of funding, although other accounts differ.

⁷¹ Benson attributes the decision to create the *Shaftesbury* was taken in part because the un-certified poor law ships on the Thames refuse to take anymore SBL referrals from the mid-1870s. See Benson, *Where the bad boys go*.

⁷² Evans, p. 5.

Act. Table 2, adapted from Kennerley,⁷³ shows that there were ten such ships scattered throughout England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland by the end of 1878. (*The Havannah* and *Indefatigable* are listed as the only two ships originally certified under the previous 1856 Act that pre-dates it.)⁷⁴

Certified Industrial Training Ship	Harboured	Date Est.
<i>Havannah</i>	Severn (Cardiff)	Cert. 1861
<i>Wellesley</i>	Tyne (South Shields)	1868
<i>Southampton</i>	Humber (Hull)	1868
<i>Mars</i>	Tay (Dundee)	1869
<i>Formidable</i>	Severn (Portishead)	Cert. 1869
<i>Cumberland (Empress)</i>	Clyde (Helensburgh)	Cert. 1870
<i>Shaftesbury</i>	Thames (Grays)	1878
<i>Clio</i>	Menai (Bangor)	1877
<i>Mount Edgcumbe</i>	Tamar (Saltash)	1877
<i>Gibraltar</i>	Belfast	Cert. 1872

Table 2: All certified industrial training ships⁷⁵

Certified industrial training ships were run by voluntary bodies (with the exception of the *Shaftesbury*). In exactly the same way as land-based industrial schools, they were able to receive funding from five main sources: public fundraising and legacies, school boards, Treasury grants, rates, and monies gained by selling goods or providing services made aboard. Rates contributed six shillings to industrial school ships in contrast to five shillings to industrial land

⁷³ Alston Kennerley, 'Ratings for the Mercantile Marine: The Roles of Charity, the State and Industry in the Pre-Service Education and Training of Ratings for the British Merchant Navy, 1879-1939', *History of Education*, 28:1, pp. 31-51.

⁷⁴ Although Roberts confusingly lists the former's certification date as 1861.

⁷⁵ Kennerley, 'Ratings for the Mercantile Marine', p. 37

schools.⁷⁶ Public subscription, being used to finance the initial costs of obtaining, re-fitting, and supplying the ship, remained thereafter a significant portion of the association's income. Those taking out subscriptions or making donations were sometimes offered incentives, such as, for large sums, receiving a 'free place' for a boy of their choice.⁷⁷ In order to secure subscriptions, encourage legacies, and sell the services and goods the ship could offer, superintendents were at pains to create good relations with the property-owning classes in local town and cities. On all ships for which there is literature, ships' bands were used as a means of attracting both good will and money for the cause. Boys played at local fetes, public meetings, private parties, regional celebrations, carnivals, contests and concerts. The bands, as well as being the principle means the boys had of obtaining access to the Navy, became the most famous export from the ships. Goods made by the inmates – tables, chairs, toys – brought more modest sums onboard.

As Emrys Roberts and Gordon Douglas detail, funding was an area of continued concern for the ships' administrators and superintendents. In particular, the suggestion was continuously made that the rate for each boy was insufficient to the requirements of maintaining a ship. The captain of the *Wellesely* went public with his annoyance that industrial ships were receiving less funding than reformatory ships,⁷⁸ although there is evidence that later ships operated in a more integrated and sophisticated market, as well as legal, environment. Ships such as the *Havannah* were able to negotiate slightly increased rates from school boards when they were in a position to offer much needed places. Indeed, due to the more extensive use of industrial training ships by schools boards following the 1876 Sanders Act, there developed a highly competitive informal market in inmate places. The result was that ships founded in response to local need began to take substantial numbers from London and the large industrial towns, under the influence not only of small financial

⁷⁶ Edmund E. Antrobus, *Training schools and training ships: for the training of boys for the navy, army and mercantile marine* (London: Staunton and Son, 1875).

⁷⁷ Emrys Roberts, *The 'Clio'*; Linda McGill, *The Mars Training Ship* (Auchterhouse: McGill, 1996).

⁷⁸ Gordon Douglas, *We'll send ye tae the Mars: the story of Dundee's legendary training ship* (Edinburgh: Black and White, 2008).

incentives but the persistent administrators. The committees of industrial training ships also held on to their right to admit a small number of inmates outside of the remit of the 1866 Industrial Schools Act. For families unable to afford or meet the criteria of the officer training ships or naval colleges, they offered a cheaper alternative.⁷⁹ Remarkably, this even applied to some reformatory ships: the *Akbar*, in particular, often had voluntary inmates whose families had paid for the privilege.

Legally, the ships were a function of the Home Office and, in order to be certified and funded, had in principle to adhere to an amended set of standard Industrial Schools Regulations. Toward the end of the century, the Admiralty was asked to take an active role in the inspection and training on board ships following public criticism of their standards. All accounts of the ships show that almost all staff came from Royal or merchant navy backgrounds. The schoolrooms on board ships were under the aegis of the 'Revised Code' and standards of the Education Act. Ian Cowan and John Hurt both draw attention to the fact that the ships, in theory, attracted less ambitious teachers as employment in industrial schools could not count towards the standard certification gradients of the school boards.⁸⁰ In practice, most accounts of the ships are more generous about the teachers' commitment and abilities. The 'industry' on board ships varied. In addition to the set of standard Industrial Schools Regulations, the ships had their own 'private' set of rules agreed between the ship's management committee and the Home Office. As well as addressing specific safety and procedural issues, the rules detailed the training to be given. Article 7 of the *Shaftesbury's* rules, for example, designated that:

⁷⁹ Common amongst all classes of training ship: the *Clio* is reported to accept volunteers in the manner of, say, the *Conway*; however McGill notes that very poor parents often tried to plead for a reduced rate for their wayward children, who were consequently refused entry by magistrates.

⁸⁰ Cowan, 'Certified Industrial Training Ships'; Hurt, 'Reformatory and Industrial'.

industrial instruction shall comprise nautical training, including the repair of their own clothing, bedding, sail-making and repairing, knotting and splicing, and the duties of a sailor generally.⁸¹

The literature indicates that there are variations upon this theme. The superintendent's annual report on the *Clio* always contained a section detailing how many hundreds of pounds the boys had saved the Committee by making their own shoes.⁸² The *Mars* operated a much more generalist system, and Douglas provides photographic as well as documentary evidence that the boys made elaborate staircases, tables, and a variety of household items on board and in an on-land workshop.⁸³ In part these differences can be seen as functions of their mooring positions. The *Clio* was berthed, despite deaths and repeated warnings from inspectors and superintendents, in an isolated and dangerous position on the Menai Strait, whilst the *Mars* and *Shaftesbury* were moored within easy reach of Dundee and London, respectively (and both owning – and continuously re-developing – land ashore). The *Clio* would often have been unable to access on-shore workhouses, even if it could have afforded them, because of the conditions that frequently kept the boys from being allowed even on deck.⁸⁴

Daily routine seems to have followed a general pattern on all the ships. Boys were split into two 'Watches' (or 'Tops') upon coming aboard. These divisions marked the patterns of boys' lives on board: whilst one 'Watch' was receiving nautical training, the other was attending school (usually in a different part of the ship). The routine was basic and monotonous. At 5 am in the summer or 6 am in the winter, *Mars'* boys awoke to a bugle call that marked the end of the older boys' night-watch. After cleaning duty or drill:

⁸¹ Benson, pp. 31-2

⁸² Evans, *The 'Clio'*.

⁸³ Gradually, as the end of the century grew nearer, learning carpentry on land appears to have over-taken the importance of nautical training aboard. Indeed, some ships – such as the *Indefatigable* and *Formidable* – would evolve into completely land-based institutions in the first decades of the new century.

⁸⁴ In fact the *Mars* was re-moored in 1875 because its position was felt to be – like the *Clio's* was to remain – over exposed and dangerous. The new anchorage was said to be the best in the Tay (McGill, p. 43).

Breakfast consisted of porridge, a roll and a dip of tea. The boys were not given cups but bowls known as dips. In these were served their tea, soup and rice. Up to this time [7.30am] the boys would be barefoot. All boots were stored away at night and re-issued in the morning, partly as a measure to prevent escape, partly to reduce wear and tear.⁸⁵

Aside from specific skills lessons, the day was predominantly given over to 'scrubbing deck, cleaning bright work, painting ship and boats' or other general work under instruction.⁸⁶ Sail drill (as well as standard or cutlass drill) appears to have been common, although the boys were allowed a period (one to two hours) after dinner to play deck games. For those with land ashore, games of cricket and football were frequent. Education was provided on the 'half-time' system that, although not popular with the SBL, was admitted under the Education Act in 'normal' board schools, (and was by far still the most common attendance method in Northern mill towns during this period). As space was at a premium, boys slept in hammocks stored away during the day. Personal space and belongings appear to have been limited, at best to a personal trunk, at worst to a shared locker. During the summer the whole ship, apart from a skeleton crew of staff and inmates, departed for a camping trip. Perhaps due to the logistics involved, the camps appear to be in the same place every year and follow almost exactly the school routine.

1.2.3 *The Shaftesbury and the School Board for London: A better school ship?*

The SBL Minutes from 26th July 1876 lists all children sent to certified industrial schools by the Board until 24 June the same year.⁸⁷ It provides a fascinating snapshot, just before the idea for the *Shaftesbury* took shape, of the use of industrial training ships by the Board. The ships that received boys were: the *Wellesley* (South Shields); *Havannah* (Cardiff); *Southampton* (Hull);

⁸⁵ McGill, pp. 28-9.

⁸⁶ Hugh B. Philpott, *London At School: The Story of the School Board, 1870-1904* (London: T.F. Unwin, 1904), p. 206.

⁸⁷ London Metropolitan Archive Library. SC/PPS/057. Minutes of the School Board for London, 26 July 1876.

Formidable (Bristol). Of 1999 boys (all Protestant) sent to certified industrial institutions during that time frame, just under a quarter were sent to industrial training ships. Roberts and McGill show that at other points in its history the SBL sent boys to both the *Clio* and *Mars*,⁸⁸ and at least attempted to find homes for them on uncertified training ships run for Poor Law boys on the Thames. In addition to committing boys to these institutions, SBL minutes often mention motions in support of, or awarding financial support to, other nautical training schemes. It is therefore not surprising that the SBL's Industrial Schools Committee proposed that the organization build its own industrial training ship when given the opportunity under the 1876 Education Act. Moored off Grays in the Thames from 1878, the *Shaftesbury* was the last industrial school ship to be launched, the only one directly under the control of the SBL, the most modern in design and materials, and certainly the most expensive. It accommodated up to 350 and fifty boys (500 after 1881), and over 3700 boys passed through its system by the time it was de-commissioned in 1905.⁸⁹

The SBL's decision to create its own industrial school ship brought new pedagogy and standards in design to the sector. In comparison to other training ships on the Thames the *Shaftesbury* appeared innovative, modern, and spacious. It was a re-fitted former P&O ship, and its architecture reflected this:

The height between the decks on the *Shaftesbury* was much higher than other training ships of that era, almost nine feet. This may be due to the fact that she was built by her former owners as a passenger ship; the others would have been former Royal Navy hulks where headroom was not such a priority.⁹⁰

Behind the elegant Queen Anne facades that sprang up around London in the mid-to-late 1870s (deliberately chosen to contrast with church schools' gothic architecture), the SBL was radically altering the design of schools in the capital. Influenced by the high schools of Prussia, this development took place under the

⁸⁸ See McGill, *The Mars*, p. 27 for the isolation London boys felt when confronted with the Scots dialect prevalent on board.

⁸⁹ 15 April 1905: Benson, *Where the bad boys go*, p. 146.

⁹⁰ Benson, p. 18.

guidance of its architect E.R. Robson. Gradually the Board's makeshift schoolrooms were replaced with airier and lighter buildings, designed in harmony with the Board's pedagogy and social philosophy.⁹¹ The schools had distinct spatial rationales, and included separate classrooms and large central assembly spaces.⁹² It is these tall, impressive 'Queen Anne' schools that Sherlock Holmes refers to as the 'beacons' that would enlighten London's slums.⁹³ Looking at the high wooden walls of the training ships we have so far discussed, and imagining the limits such surroundings placed on life, the *Shaftesbury* seems to signify a nautical version of the Board's 'beacons'. Accordingly, the schoolroom was not a gloomy mid-deck with desks but was well lit and showed evidence of planning:

The schoolroom has twenty two windows and was well ventilated. In the centre was a raised platform. Here was placed a piano and harmonium ... [a]s well as the schoolroom there were two classrooms, which could be made into one by removing the partitions.⁹⁴

This is certainly the 'show-boat' *Shaftesbury* that the Board liked to show visiting dignitaries, and offered, via Philpott's *London at School*, the historical record. Its airy and planned spaces, it was suggested, awarded inmates a similar level of health and happiness afforded pupils in the Queen Anne schools. There is something almost unsettlingly cheerful about Philpott's depiction, anticipatory as it is of holiday camp marketing in the decades to come:

Life on board the *Shaftesbury* is a round of cheerful activity from morning till night... [...] Work and play on board the *Shaftesbury* are intermingled with each other... On the upper deck football and cricket may be seen in full swing, whilst ping-pong (under difficulties), chess, draughts and

⁹¹ Robson even published recommendations of the amount of glass per-square-inch of floor-space needed in schools which proved very popular: see Wei Wu, 'A Review of the Development of Daylighting in schools. *Lighting Research and Technology*, 35:2 (2003), pp. 111-125.

⁹² Christopher Martin, *A Short History of English schools* (East Sussex: Wayland, 1979), p. 47.

⁹³ See Andrew Saint, 'Battersea: education in a London parish since 1750', *History of Education*, 39:6 (2010), p. 682.

⁹⁴ *Illustrated London News*, 14 December 1878: quoted in Benson, p. 18.

dominoes are played between decks. When summer comes on, bathing and long excursion in boats are the order of the day, while 'sling the monkey' is played in the evening.⁹⁵

More than any other industrial school ship, and possibly more than most industrial schools, the *Shaftesbury* offers itself as an example for research into the elusive, unacknowledged culture of the 'better' industrial school ship.

1.2.4 Distinctive Features of the Ship: Background To The Study

The materiality and management of the *Shaftesbury* was distinct in no small part to the influence of the design practices of Robson and the political make-up of its management. As background to the research that follows, it may be helpful to consider the key features that characterised both the design philosophy of the SBL and the gender and political constitution of the SMC.

From the outset, the SBL thought of its school spaces as morally and physically improving spaces. Such spaces include the *Shaftesbury*, often referred to, in official as well as private documents, as a 'school ship', and there is much evidence that many of the ship's architectural considerations were being approached with the philosophy of SBL school design in mind. However iconic and new Robson's assemblages of architectural styles and schools design elements were, the discursive construction of the SBL school as a physical and moral safehouse did not develop in a vacuum. The effect of the Education Acts, and the School Boards, was to deepen as well as broaden the design issues of school planners: mass provision meant schoolrooms had to be spaces sensitive to contemporaneous notions of infection and physical development, as well as ones that accommodated the latest pedagogical ideas.

Post-Education Act thought on school design reflected the new health-related responsibilities of the school board and architect. We find, for example, Budgett's

⁹⁵ Philpott, *London at School*, pp. 206-7. 'Sling the Monkey' was a popular game on ships. The 'monkey' was partially suspended by rope from one of the yards and had to attempt to 'tig' or mark with chalk the others.

The Hygiene of Schools (1874), Chadwick's *Sanitary Principles of School Construction* (1871) and Liebrach's *School life its influence on sight and figure* (1878).⁹⁶ In part, these guides offered answers to issues created by the huge number of working class children required to attend school in over-crowded, often co-opted and poorly designed, spaces. By 1890 the SBL had provided school places to four-hundred thousand pupils. Even discounting the measures used to reduce the possibility of infection, pedagogical spaces had become about managing of odour, noise, light, damp, and temperature as much as about facilitating a black-board teaching. The obsession with 'healthy' school design, however, was also the result of progressive interest in revolutionary new Continental school design, an enthusiasm permitted by the growing dominance of medical discourse within British public life. The most notable designs came from Prussia/Germany, and their influence was felt in the regional as well as metropolitan school boards. The Prussian High School designs saw the physical development and health of the pupil as integral to the pedagogical tasks of the school space. Crucially, for British architects, they also resulted in reams of highly theoretical and scientific postulations about space and the body. The Prussian designs specified, within fractions of an inch, the positioning of everything from windows to parallel bars. Discussing the '[g]reat latitude' given school designers in England, Robson noted:

In Germany the state authorities exercise a much more rigid supervision over the arrangements and appointments of the school-room...Equally definite are the instructions with regard to the gymnastic apparatus and other matters, especially those affecting the cleanliness and healthfulness of the scholars.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ John Burgess Budgett, *The Hygiene of School: Or, Education mentally and Physically Considered* (London: H.K. Lewis, 1874); Edwin Chadwick, 'Sanitary Principles of School Construction', *Journal of the Society of Arts*, 19 (3 November 1871), pp. 856-60; Richard Liebreich, *School Life in its Influence on Sight and Figure: Two Lectures* (London J. A. Churchill, 1878).

⁹⁷ Edward Robert Robson, *School Architecture: Being Practical Remarks on the Planning, Designing, Building, and Furnishing of School-Houses* (London, 1874), p. 392.

Whilst neither the British state, nor school board architects, would ever exhibit the obsession over detail found in many of its Continental equivalents, the influence of Prussian models can be read in all SBL spaces. For Robson, and for the progressive interventionist cause in general, the Prussian model remained an important example of what was possible in the way school space was *conceived*.

Robson's magnum opus on school design, *School Architecture*, offers insight into the notions of space and embodiment that pre-occupied the architectural department that shaped the ship and the capital's schools. The arguments are presented as modern, and interrogate the 'rude furniture upon which the school-boys of a generation ago did penance'.⁹⁸ Instead, Robson is interested in hard science and careful consideration. He calls upon the work of 'Dr Leibreich, the ophthalmic surgeon of St Thomas Hospital' to discuss the visual problems caused by previous school designs (myopia, amblyopia, asthenopia) and how they may be countered. He calculates and justifies such things as the precise maximum angle of vision during teaching (45 degrees)⁹⁹ and the minimum height of windows from the floor.¹⁰⁰ New school architecture set its sights not only on remedying the physical issues such as 'impaired eyesight and crooked shoulders'¹⁰¹ that were thought to arise from poor living, but also the 'taxes in knowledge, payable by children in the shape of weariness and fatigue' at existing schools.¹⁰² The emphasis was on constructing not just benign but improving spaces. The furniture, lighting, air should not leave their mark upon pupils' constitution or posture; the gymnasium, ordered space and high windows should.¹⁰³

Another distinctive feature of the *Shaftesbury* was its management. The *Shaftesbury*'s Committee Rooms were not merely an administrative space, but a political space: a site of cultural, social and political diversity and conflict. The style of management, and profile of the managers, on the *Shaftesbury* was

⁹⁸ Robson, p. 360.

⁹⁹ Robson, p. 168.

¹⁰⁰ Robson, p. 224.

¹⁰¹ Robson, p. 177.

¹⁰² Robson, p. 178.

¹⁰³ Robson, p. 360.

unusual by industrial school standards. Firstly, the SMC, as a sub-division of the SBL, was a politicised entity. Most obviously, there was the division between the Progressive Party (known as the School Board Party up to c1885) and Moderate Party (known as the Voluntary Schools Party up to c1885) candidates. These were seen as municipal versions of the main political Parties - the former with links to the Liberal Party, the latter to the Conservative Party – that added a hostile polarity to the business of the SBL that mirrored Parliament. Secondly, some of the most active and long-standing members of the SMC were Liberal women. In the Moderate camp there was Lobb, who happily publicised his opposition to the Shaftesbury whilst on the committee, and Rev. Diggle, SBL chairman of the entire SBL from 1885-1891, who became obsessed with enforcing school fee payment from the poorest quarters.¹⁰⁴ In fervent opposition were two female progressives who dominated the SMC during the 1880s, Rosamund Davenport-Hill and Alice Westlake. Westlake, an artist who fought for female suffrage, was the daughter of reformist Thomas Hare and had married a leading Liberal QC. She was elected to the 1876 Marylebone division of the SBL and held the seat until 1888. Davenport-Hill was a prominent reformer who was a SBL member for City of London between 1879 and her retirement from office in 1897. Whilst the SMC's Fortnightly meetings were held at the offices of the Board, from March 1878 a sub-committee was set up to visit the ship at least once a month excluding vacations.¹⁰⁵ Although female membership of the SMC was always a minority, Davenport-Hill and Westlake came to exert an influence beyond their number on the SMC due in no small part to their attendance record and willingness to get involved in the micro-management of the ship; they could also be said to have dominated the sub committee simply through their commitment to visiting the ship. Pasted into the inside cover of the SMC Minute Book that covers the period July 1882 to February 1886 is a checklist that records the attendance of members at each meeting from December 1883 to

¹⁰⁴ Jane Lewis, Parents, Children, School Fees and the London School Board 1870-1890, *History of Education, Journal of the History of Education Society*, 11:4 (1982), pp. 291-312.

¹⁰⁵ London Metropolitan Archive (LMA), School Board for London Collection (SBL), LMA/SBL/0363-19, 26 March 1878.

November 1884 with little ticks next to their names.¹⁰⁶ The singularly informal nature of the document and the fact it falls short of the full minute period suggest that it was probably the unofficial work of a member with a view to stimulating better attendance. Whilst one may be surprised that James Burroughs (Voluntary Schools Party, Westminster) and Thomas Heller (School Board Party, Lambeth) managed only one attendance each during the period – in which former member Rev Wilks even attended four times – the most surprising thing is the political implications that absences had for the running of the ship. Amongst the seven Voluntary Schools (Moderate) Party and nine School Board (Progressive Party) Members of the SMC for the period, all those attending regularly (at least eight times from a possible eighteen) had ‘Compromise of 1871’ positions¹⁰⁷: Mr Spicer, Davenport-Hill, Mr Mitchell, Mr Hawkins, Col Prendergast, Miss Westlake. The only Voluntary Schools Party member to reach this number was Mr Hoare, a brewer from Westminster, who, after joining to replace a School Board Candidate in February 1884, attended every meeting. Even the infamous Lobb attended regularly but rarely: December 1883, June 1884, and October 1884. The Forest Hill Vicar Rev. Morse managed to miss every single meeting.

Whilst the political chemistry of the SMC changed with each School Board election, the patterns of attendance point to the de-facto power of the female Progressive Party members throughout the 1880s. The dominance of Davenport-Hill and Westlake during the ship’s early period, enabled by their considerable skill sets and ambition, was in part the result of the reluctance of more conservative members of the SMC to make the short journey down to the *Shaftesbury*. The physical occupation of the Committee Rooms was crucial to the gendering and politicisation of the ship. Although they lagged slightly behind movements in politics in the SBL and Parliament, the Committee Rooms on the *Shaftesbury* were also subject to macro movements in politics. The Minutes book for July 1890 to July 1892¹⁰⁸ contains a more formalized version of an

¹⁰⁶ LMA/SBL/0365, inside cover (un-numbered).

¹⁰⁷ This was the central tenet of the Liberal-allied School Board Party, which aimed to make schools ‘non-denominational’ for greater inclusivity: a proposition opposed by conservatives.

¹⁰⁸ LMA/SBL/0368.

attendance checklist. By this time, the tide had turned at the SBL and the Moderate Party had enjoyed a majority for a number of years. Of the twenty-one managers of the ship, eleven were Moderates, nine Progressives and one, Rev Buckley, was a Roman Catholic Independent. There was still a strong Progressive female presence, although this time it was Margaret Eve who joined Davenport-Hill with almost full attendance over the period (sixteen out of eighteen meetings). Progressive domination of the space, however, had dissipated. Moderate heavyweights such as Andrew Drew (in the Chair), Athelston Riley, and Rev. Diggle were in frequent attendance, and the total of Moderate attendances (one hundred and eight) dwarfed the Progressives (seventy five). It was the otherwise engaged male Progressive Party members responsible for the lowest attendance figures: the Rev. Wilson on five, and Lord Sandhurst without a single noted appearance. Behind such attitudinal changes in the Parties one may perhaps read a confidence in conservative gains, both at the SBL and in Parliament, since 1886.

Section Three: Academic Literature on Industrial Schools and Industrial School Ships: The Critical Field

1.3.0 *Industrial Schools in General*

The academic literature on industrial schools is sparse. Surveying the field in her 1999 thesis, *Industrial Schools in England, 1857-1933: 'Moral Hospitals' or 'Oppressive Institutions'?*, Gillian Gear points out that many works through the 1970s and 1980s supply wrong dates for industrial schools, show misunderstandings regarding their function, or define them simply as associated with the general residential care system. These include otherwise notable works such as Stuart MacLure's *One Hundred Years of London Education, 1870-1970*, Bernard Elliot's 'School Boards and Industrial School – A neglected aspect of the 1870 Education Act' and Stephen Humphries *Hooligans or Rebels*.¹⁰⁹ The errors

¹⁰⁹ Stuart MacLure, *One Hundred Years of London Education, 1870-1970* (London: Allen Lane, 1970); Bernard Elliot, 'School Boards and Industrial School – A neglected aspect of the 1870 Education Act,' *Education Society Bulletin* 1978, no.

say much about the motivation and focus of historians writing about industrial schools to the present day. Industrial schools are most often deployed in the literature as exemplars or motifs in a broader argument regarding punitive or residential provision, without interest in the variety of culture or care provided.

In general, academic literature has portrayed industrial schools as grim, punitive environments or used them as examples of failed institutions. John Hurt's 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools before 1933',¹¹⁰ an article surveying the history of industrial and reformatory schooling, and *Outside the Main Stream*, are standard texts in the literature.¹¹¹ Industrial schools for Hurt were punitive environments, almost inseparable from the regimes of the reformatory or workhouse: 'inmates underwent a disciplined and oppressive routine of hard work, severe punishment, austere living conditions, and Spartan diet'.¹¹² The institutions, particularly farm or ship schools, Hurt maintains, were prone to be managed not in accordance with Mary Carpenters 'missionary zeal', but by those searching for free-farm labour or cheap ship hands. Whilst Hurt provides some salient criticisms and contexts for industrial schools, his work exhibits disinterest in representing the actual culture and lived experiences in schools in anything less than black-and-white terms.¹¹³

Similarly, Jane Martin's exploration of the role of women in the SBL's industrial schools reveals much about gender workings at the SBL, but presents a disproportionately pessimistic overview of the Board's interactions with industrial schools and the schools themselves. Martin's discussion of School Board Member Elizabeth Surr's role in fighting the systemic cruelties of the SBL's industrial school provision centres on detailing scandals that developed over Upton House and St Paul's Industrial Schools. The Upton House and St Paul's

22 p. 38; Stephen Humphries, *Hooligans or Rebels*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).

¹¹⁰ Hurt, 'Reformatory and Industrial', p. 51

¹¹¹ John S. Hurt, *Outside the Main Stream: A History of Special Education* (London: Batsford, 1988)

¹¹² Hurt, 'Reformatory and Industrial', p. 49

¹¹³ Gear suggests, 'he appears to have had a very low opinion of the whole system': Gillian Gear 'Industrial Schools in England, 1857-1933: 'Moral Hospitals or 'Oppressive Institutions?' (unpublished PhD thesis, Institute of Education, University of London, 1999), p. 19.

scandals, detailed by Hurt also, are perhaps the most commonly repeated representation of industrial schools within the literature, and, even when not mentioned by name directly, appear to have shaped historical understandings of the culture and practices of industrial schools. Upton House was investigated in 1879 when it was suggested that punishments had been inflicted outside of Home Office guidelines.¹¹⁴ Hurt details the results of the official enquiry that:

12 of the 20 rules of management were consistently broken. One child had had to lie on the bare iron bars of his 18-in. wide bed with only a shirt as protection for nine weeks. Unclean children were forced to lie naked on the stone sink of a lavatory, in a temperature below freezing point, while cold water was turned on them. Boys who did not wash themselves properly were drenched with buckets of cold water while wearing their clothes which they then had to keep on. Yet another boy was shut in a cupboard all night. Boys who came back to Upton House for a second truancy offence had to wear distinctive clothing, keep silent for three weeks and receive 12 strokes of the birch.¹¹⁵

Martin's study has direct links to the story of the *Shaftesbury* itself. Alice Westlake, a key member of the *Shaftesbury's* management committee (SMC), was on the special committee that investigated the case. Westlake was with the majority that, despite finding Upton House guilty of providing irregular punishments, decided that the punishments 'did not involve "systematic cruelty"'.¹¹⁶ The *Shaftesbury* also had a tenuous relationship with the other great SBL industrial school scandal discussed by Martin, that of St Paul's Industrial School, which occurred in 1881. Almost exclusively accepting boys from the SBL, St Paul's was ostensibly a privately run industrial school, owned by Thomas Scrutton, the chairman of the Industrial Schools Committee and the creator and first chairman of the *Shaftesbury*. The cruelty at St Paul's appeared even more widespread than at Upton House. Clothing was so inadequate that inmates' toes had to be amputated from chilblains. It was in the area of punishments, however, that the St Paul's regime reached Dickensian proportions:

The punishments meted out included having to stand half-naked in winter with bare feet on the cold stones washing sheets; being imprisoned for several days in the bathroom where it was so cold their

¹¹⁴ Martin, 'Hard-Headed', p. 195.

¹¹⁵ Hurt, 'Reformatory and Industrial', p. 52.

¹¹⁶ Martin, 'Hard-Headed', p. 195.

cocoa froze, plus the use of handcuffs and foot manacles; with the likelihood being that deaths of several weak boys had been hastened by their harsh treatment.¹¹⁷

Martin depicts the Board's reaction to the emergence of the allegations against Scrutton's school as just as chilling, with a majority of SBL members rallying round Scrutton, and temporarily reversing a motion to close the school on the grounds that Scrutton had not had a chance to defend himself. In the end, the Home Secretary, Sir William Harcourt, had to 'force the Board into an inquiry, albeit one conducted by a special committee so heavily biased in favour of Mr Scrutton that' many members refused to serve.¹¹⁸ When the truth emerged, the school was closed, Harcourt created a Royal Commission on Reformatory and Industrial Schools, and Scrutton resigned from the Board. I have detailed the Upton House and St Paul's scandals fully not only to illustrate the image of industrial schools that dominate the literature, but to provide context to the *Shaftesbury's* culture.

Whilst the horrors of Upton House and St Paul's were important moments in the history of industrial schools, the frequency with which the accounts of impersonal space and torturous conditions appear in the literature as sole motifs of the culture of industrial schools is problematic. Gillian Gear has estimated that there were 224 certified industrial schools in operation during the nineteenth century, ranging from farm schools to industrial training ships, and each being run by a private management committee.¹¹⁹ Whilst recent work on nineteenth century prisons, asylums and residential institutions during the period has sought to complicate and nuance attributions of strict discipline and regulation, references to industrial schools remain stubbornly reductive.¹²⁰ Ashurst and Venn, in their 2013 history of alternative provision, assert that the 'large, impersonal, brutal, barrack-style institutions provided the most economically

¹¹⁷ Martin, 'Hard-Headed', p. 199.

¹¹⁸ Martin, 'Hard-Headed', p. 199.

¹¹⁹ Gear, 'Industrial Schools in England'.

¹²⁰ David Wright, 'Getting Out of the Asylum: understanding the confinement of the insane in the nineteenth century', *Social History of Medicine* 10:1 (1997), pp. 137-155; Alyson Brown, *English Society and the Prison: Time, Culture and Politics in the Development of the Modern Prison, 1850-1920* (Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2003).

efficient means of disposing of pauperised children', a presentation of industrial schools which is an inadequate reflection of institutions such as the *Shaftesbury*, which were expensive, and exhibited aspects of 'progressive' architectural considerations and pedagogy.¹²¹ Even Nicola Sheldon, whose research has explored the role of band culture within industrial schools, has sometimes resorted to invoking the

'depressive' effects of the acceptable face of industrial school life – monotony and discipline. Uniforms, short hair-cuts (for girls as well as in some places) and a deadening routine of rigid days with silence at mealtimes to keep all under control.¹²²

Such generalisations are unfortunate. As Gillian Gear's research shows, silence at mealtimes was a rare occurrence in industrial schools. Likewise cultures of uniform constituted a remarkably diverse and symbolically complex set of practices across industrial schools, from the garish concoctions of the Farm Schools to the Petty Officer uniforms of the *Shaftesbury*, complete with lanyard, knife, and badges displaying privileges.

There has, nevertheless, been some attempt to find a narrative for industrial schools outside their presentation as grim apparatus of oppression. David Thomas' 'Industrial Schools, Forgotten Precursors in Vocational Education,'¹²³ characterizes the schools as well-intentioned stage-posts between the age of apprenticeship and modern industrial training. Thomas also published two other articles on northern industrial schools, showing a sympathy no-doubt in part engendered by having had relatives who once worked within the institutions.¹²⁴

The work of Margaret May on the reformatory and industrial school movement, presents a detailed history of the industrial school as a significant moment in English political and legal culture, rather than merely a punitive

¹²¹ Ashurst and Venn, *Inequality, poverty, education*, p. 151.

¹²² Nicola Sheldon, 'Civilizing the Delinquent and the Neglected: The Role of the Industrial School', *History of Childhood Colloquium*, 21 June 2008 (Oxford: University of Oxford).

¹²³ David H Thomas, 'Industrial Schools, Forgotten Precursors in Vocational Education', *The Vocational Aspect of Education*, 33:85 (1981), pp. 51-53.

¹²⁴ Thomas, 'Chester Industrial School'.

regime. 'Industrial schools,' May concludes, after detailing the series of philosophical and political shifts that made them possible, 'provided the precedent for later legislation to protect the child, and paved the way for compulsory education.'¹²⁵ May's work is culturally situated, preferring to discuss the debates and discourse behind the institutions than delve into the institutions themselves. Nevertheless it opens the door to more nuanced discussion of the institutions as cultural spaces.

1.3.1 *Non-Academic Literature On Industrial Training Ships*

In the last century only four books dedicated to industrial training ships have been written, all by local historians, and all but one about specific ships. For the most part, although lacking clear referencing and depth, these accounts provide invaluable accounts of the ship. The challenges involved in drawing upon works outside the Academy, however, include having to assess the likelihood of accounts against other narratives and re-tracing unlisted sources. They are often invaluable in providing local detail, but have a tendency towards the sentimental. McGill and Douglas both give accounts of the *Mars*, moored in the Tay off Dundee, which first began taking inmates in 1869.¹²⁶ McGill charts the ship from creation to the scrap yard, making considerable use of local memories (unpublished manuscripts of recollections, interviews from local news, interviews) from the later years of the ship. Although self-published, this approach has yielded some fascinating vignettes, particularly into the construction of identity on board. Published in 2008, Douglas' *We'll send ye tae the Mars: the story of Dundee's legendary training ship* is a large-format book that reproduces many rare early photographs of various aspects of life aboard the ship. The accompanying text quotes heavily from contemporaneous local sources when discussing the public debates surrounding the ships creation. The title of Douglas' book comes from a threat that he and McGill suggest elderly relatives used to warn youngsters away from mischief and, in common with McGill, Evans

¹²⁵ May, 'Innocence and Experience,' p. 23

¹²⁶ McGill, *The Mars*.

and Rimmer, Douglas is often at pains to emphasize the positive aspects of the institution he discusses.¹²⁷ The same could not be said for Roberts' study of the *Clio*, berthed in 1877 off Bangor in the Menai Strait.¹²⁸ As well as detailing key events in the ship's life, the book also criticises the opening up of the Bangor ship to boys from distant school boards. Its conclusion discusses industrial training ships within the context of the national fleet in the later nineteenth century, suggesting that by the time of the industrial training ship Britain's navy had already fallen behind its closest competitors technologically. Published by Thurrock Museum in 2013, Peter Benson's study of the *Shaftesbury* is the most recent book to document an industrial training ship. *Where the bad boys go: The story of the training ship Shaftesbury moored in the Thames off Grays Thurrock 1878-1905*. The account is well researched and provides considerable detail on the ship, including its rules, dietary tables, and time-tables. Although it doesn't present any plans of the ship, or discuss at length the layout and use of space on board, it provides an invaluable introduction to related archive sources. Rimmer's *Yesterday's Naughty Children*, and Evan's *The Training Ships of Liverpool*, which document the *Akbar* and the *Indefatigable* amongst others, have been helpful in formulating material and cultural differences between the *Shaftesbury* and other varieties of training ship.

In addition to a small but detailed collection of amateur historical works on individual industrial ships and reformatory ships, histories of navy and mercantile marine officer training ships have provided invaluable historical context.¹²⁹ As Kennerley notes, for the most part the training of able seamen during the nineteenth century differed little from that of their 'future masters,

¹²⁷ This perhaps due to the target audience of the books – such local history is often framed within an ambivalent nostalgia.

¹²⁸ Roberts, *The 'Clio'*.

¹²⁹ Jamie Campbell, *A Story of Excelsior: Living History* (Gorleston-on-Sea: Hamilton Publications, 2001); Roy C. Derham, *Vindicatrix: The Story of a Ship with Three Names, Many Lives, and Several Roles, Finally as a Training School for 70,000 Boys* ([s.l]: Baron, 1993); W. A. Morgan, *The Thames Nautical Training College, HMS 'Worcester' 1862-1919* (London: Charles Griffin, 1929); F. H. Stafford, *The History of the 'Worcester: The Official Account of the Thames Nautical Training College* (London: F. Warne and Company, 1929); A. Windsor, *HMS Conway: 1859-1974* (Livingstone: Witherby Seamanship International, 2008).

though the latter might have the advantages of a general education and family position.¹³⁰ This is confirmed by comparison of histories of officer training ships – such as the *Worcester* and *Conway* – with what we know of the ‘compulsory order’ ships that shared their waters. Officer training ship accounts are usually written by:

old boys or members of staff, to be descriptive and anecdotal, and lack the analysis and incisiveness of the historian’s approach.¹³¹

Yet it is this colour – such as the slang for navy food, and ways of communicating up and down the levels of ship – that makes the studies so invaluable. No comparable documents exist to take the historian on a sensory tour of the ‘compulsory order’ school ships. There are, however, literary guides available, although they are written at a slightly later period. John Masefield mixed a ‘warts-and-all’ account of his own experiences aboard the *Conway* with a potted history of the ship.¹³² J.D. Bush and E.T Miller have left us a fascinating fictional glimpse into a Scottish compulsory order training ship.¹³³

1.3.2 Industrial School Ships

Although there has been, to date, no extended academic study of the actual culture and practices of a nineteenth-century industrial school ship, they nevertheless appear in academic literature in general discussions ranging from a few words to several pages. As with their counterparts on shore, however,

¹³⁰ Alston Kennerley, ‘Writing the History of Merchant Seafarer Education, Training and Welfare: Retrospect and Prospect’, *The Northern Mariner*, 12:2 (2002), p. 4.

¹³¹ Kennerley, ‘Writing the History’, p. 4.

¹³² John Masefield, *The Conway: From Her Foundation to the Present Day* (London: Heineman, 1933).

¹³³ J. D. Bush and E. T. Miller, *Five Years On A Training Ship* (London: Pilgrim Press, 1913(?)). Much of the details of life on board appear believable when compared with the available literature. Interestingly, and not mentioned in other accounts, the boys have ‘hens’ (Scots slang for ‘women’) much as public school boys had ‘fags’.

industrial school ships are most often discussed in terms of industrial functionality and oppressive physical or disciplinary regimes.

As well as brief discussions of ships in peer-reviewed articles on industrial training schools, Cowan's *Certified Industrial Training Ships c.1860-1913* discusses the ships *en class*. Writing in 1984, Cowan notes the scarcity of research on industrial training ships and the lack of any definitive academic study on how such institutions functioned and were operated. Drawing on his M.Ed thesis, Cowan points to the complexities of responsibility for those educating on board where 'education provision ... had to operate under a tripartite area of responsibility: the Home Office, the School Boards ... [and] the ship's captain who was responsible for day to day operational issues'. Cowan suggests that the inability of training ship teachers to obtain a first or second class certificate for their work aboard (due to the fact that they did not get annually endorsed by Her Majesty's Inspectorate (HMI)), combined with extra duties and poor marriage prospects meant industrial training ships' school rooms were unlikely to attract the same standard of teaching as the new board schools.¹³⁴ Nevertheless, Cowan's assertion that records of industrial school ships are too scarce to encourage or enable detailed study is inaccurate and leads to his work focusing on the uncomplicated, negative aspects of the institutions. Whilst Cowan calls attention to many of the problems that plagued the institutions, such as inadequate inspection and failure of sending enough inmates to sea, the general depiction of the institutions is grim, 'with little to provide relief or diversion from the strict discipline'.¹³⁵ The largest section about cultures on board focuses on detailing examples of the 'occasional serious disturbances' and arson he sees as plaguing the ships, citing examples from the *Southampton*, *Cumberland*, *Empress*, *Mars*, *Clarence* and *Akbar* of riots and attempted firings.¹³⁶ Unable to draw on detailed knowledge of the ships' cultures, he does not, like Bovill, link such acts of 'resistance' as responses to

¹³⁴ In contrast, Michelle Cale argues that the reformatory and industrial school system tended to attract gifted and dedicated teachers: Michelle Cale, 'Working for God? Staffing the Victorian reformatory and industrial school system', *History of Education*, 21:2 (1992), pp. 113-127.

¹³⁵ Cowan, p. 4.

¹³⁶ Cowan, p. 5.

specific events on the ships, but as illustrations of the general disorder and unhappiness aboard the vessels.¹³⁷

Hurt provides some of the most extensive coverage of industrial school ships, focusing particularly on the more negative aspects of the attempts to license inmates out to the marine industry. Whilst Linda Mahmoud has framed industrial school ships of the Clyde Industrial Schools Ships Association entirely in terms of co-opted, indentured labour for industrialists, Hurt has produced a more full-spectrum assault on their industrial aspirations.¹³⁸ The ships, he notes, were generally unsuccessful in obtaining sea-faring positions for inmates during the depressed mercantile sector of the late nineteenth century. Thus inmates were saved from dangerous conditions on ocean-going ships, only to be indentured to comparably cruel conditions on domestic fishing fleets or foreign-manned vessels. Even when industrial school ships eventually began to negotiate more agreeable positions for their inmates aboard passenger steamers, Hurt contends, the positions were little more than sea-borne servant roles. In the manner of his analysis of industrial schools in general, Hurt's only foray into discussing actual culture on board a ship involves the *Wellesley*, which is used to validate his suggestion that industrial school ship's regimes were cruel, arbitrary and private. The poor inmates of the *Wellesley* training ship lost one Captain infamous for 'unnecessarily severe' birching only to gain one whose method of punishment was to paint wrongdoers' genitals with dilute carbolic acid until they blistered.¹³⁹

Martin's work on industrial schools rhetorically links the *Shaftesbury* with the infamous Upton House and St Paul's Industrial Schools scandals, placing the relatively innocuous debacle over the cost of the *Shaftesbury* between the accounts of the torturous regimes. Although Martin does not press the case, the article does expose a worrying level of tolerance to institutional cruelty amongst members of the *Shaftesbury*'s management.

¹³⁷ Donald Bovill, 'Education of Mercantile Mariners in the North East Ports 1840-1902 (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Durham, 1987).

¹³⁸ Linda Mahood, *Policing Gender, Class and Family in Britain*. (London: University College London Press, 1995).

¹³⁹ Hurt, 'Reformatory and Industrial', p. 53.

The questions raised by Martin's article are intensified by the case of the *Wellesley*, which has become the motif of the industrial school ship in much the same way that St Paul's overshadows the industrial school. It appears in Hurt's critiques, but is most substantively covered in Bovill's PhD thesis on North East Marine Training provision, and provides a number of examples in the chapters to follow.

Section Four: The Study to follow

1.4.0 The 'better schools'

The most important work on the culture of industrial schools *per se* remains Gillian Gear's unpublished thesis, which is illustrated with numerous examples of specific practices and cultures from schools, many from the late nineteenth century. Although Gear's work struggles to plot general characteristics of industrial schools on issues such as discipline, management, and training, it is the heterogeneity of culture in the institutions that surprises a reader used to the existing literature. Eschewing, but acknowledging, common reductive theoretical engagements with the functionality of the schools, Gear concludes:

For the children, life in industrial schools was likely to be a shock, which could be both good and bad...Industrial schools provided a roof over the children's heads, regular meals, clothing and medical care. Even in the worst schools children received some basic training and education in addition to moral and religious instruction. The better schools acted as a substitute home and family, where care and concern was shown and a fair education given. The children's backgrounds could make them rebellious and resistant to authority and for those who were not prepared to conform, life could be particularly difficult and confrontational.¹⁴⁰

This notion of the 'better schools,' absent from the literature, appeared to Gear, who has undertaken the most wide-ranging archival research on these institutions so far. With so much literature given to repeating tropes about the

¹⁴⁰ Gear, p. 217.

punitive and cruel existences in industrial schools and school ships, May and Gear suggest that there was differentiation across institutions. This is also the point at which my research on the *Shaftesbury* enters the academic field: not to mount a revisionist defence of the industrial school or school ship but to offer an exploration of the culture of an industrial school that was the product of considered and liberal management.

1.4.1 Aims: Challenging And Nuancing The Field

Beyond the horrendous cases of Upton House, St Paul's and the *Wellesley*, little attempt has been made in academic literature to engage with the living cultures of the industrial schools or school ships. As with the literature of industrial schools in general, the tendency is to focus on 'top down' views of the ships. Overviews of the statistical outcomes, regulatory regimes, and generalised descriptions of their architecture have been invoked as sufficient accounts of their diverse cultures. In her thesis, Gear suggested that the misconceptions about the homogeneity and bleakness of industrial schools perpetuated in the literature would be challenged as more studies on individual schools appeared. Whilst this has so far not occurred, there is a growing movement of historians that focuses on exposing the complex cultures of other varieties of residential institutions.

The functional reading of prison and reformatory environments has been challenged by a number of historians, including Margaret DeLacy who notes the errors of equating vision, policy and localised practice.¹⁴¹ Recent histories of residential institutions have sought to challenge and nuance 'top down' accounts by re-centring narratives on negotiations over identity, space and value that constituted the lived culture of the institutions. Helen Rogers has explored the nature of the emotional exchanges and negotiations between prisoners and their

¹⁴¹ Margaret DeLacy, *Prison Reform in Lancashire, 1700-1850: A Study in Local Administration* (Manchester: Cheltham Society, 1986).

rehabilitators.¹⁴² The work often has a strong focus on ‘reading’ the material culture and spatial practices of particular institutions, and is typified by the work of Jane Hamlett on asylums, lodging houses and public schools; and Ireland and Rogers on prisons.¹⁴³ Hamlett’s work combines inmate testimonies, where possible, with the ‘reading’ of material culture to provide complex and grounded accounts of the relationship between institutions and the institutionalised. The work of Helen Johnston on the life of mid-century prison officers, and Richard Ireland’s *A Want of Order and Good Discipline’: Rules, Discretion and the Victorian Prison*, have sought to define the institutional identities and culture negotiated between policy and practice, hierarchy and personal relationships.¹⁴⁴ In Ireland’s account, we find symbolic economies develop around such things as the food ration. Instead of using official dietary regulation guidelines to understand the culture of food, he explores food as a site of discretion and agency: inmates in a ‘high risk strategy’ could refuse food, throw it out a window; the surgeon, at his discretion, could add things such as alcohol or fruit.¹⁴⁵ The culture of the prison was never singular or static, he notes, but ‘there were a variety of regimes which were negotiated daily by the staff, and on occasion by the prisoners.’¹⁴⁶ The approach appears to be part of a growing movement within the study of institutions, as evidenced by the studies that populate Hamlett’s *Residential Institutions*, and the papers given at the *Rethinking the Institution in the Long*

¹⁴² Helen Rogers, ‘Kindness and Reciprocity: Liberated Prisoners and Christian Charity in Early Nineteenth-Century England’, *Journal of Social History*, 47:3 (2014), pp. 721-745.

¹⁴³ Jane Hamlett, *At Home in the Institution: Material Life in Asylums, Lodging Houses and Schools in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2015); Jane Hamlett and Lesley Hoskins, ‘Comfort in Small Things? Clothing, Control and Agency in Country Lunatic Asylums in Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century England’ *Journal of Victorian Culture* 18:1 (2012), pp. 93-114; Jane Hamlett, Lesley Hoskins, Rebecca Preston *Residential Institutions in Britain, 1725-1970* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013).

¹⁴⁴ Helen Johnston, ‘“Reclaiming the Criminal”: The Role and Training of Prison Officers in England, 1977 to 1914’, *The Howard Journal of Crime and Justice*, 47:3 (2008), pp. 297-312; Richard Ireland, *A Want of Order and Good Discipline’: Rules, Discretion and the Victorian Prison* (Cardiff: University of Wales, 2007).

¹⁴⁵ Ireland, p. 206-7.

¹⁴⁶ Ireland, p. 185.

*Nineteenth Century Conference at Liverpool John Moore's University in the Summer of 2017.*¹⁴⁷

The thesis that follows has been influenced by the methodologies, foci and rationales of the studies discussed above, and it is hoped that it goes some way to bridging the gap between the existing literature on industrial schools and this more grounded approach to understanding institutional culture.

1.4.2 Analytical Tools and Concepts

The 'reading' of material culture and space constitute a major focus of the research to follow. Hamlett and Preston define material culture in historical research as 'the cultural and social meanings ascribed to the physical world and the practices associated with it', noting that it can be 'helpful when exploring the lives of underprivileged groups in society' whose voices are often lost to the historical record.¹⁴⁸ Within the institutional context, a focus on the material culture not only assists with constructing accounts of inmates' values and agency, but also can be used to unpack the material rationales that underscore institutions (such as architectural design, the supply and prohibition of certain objects, uniform). Much of the research to follow is given over to the latter enterprise. The design aesthetic and supposed domestic 'luxury' of the *Shaftesbury* are presented as crucial to understanding the revolutionary pedagogy of the ship, its cultural and political significance, and the lives of inmates. My exploration of these themes depends much on notions of space and spatiality and is also influenced by Chris Philo's work on asylum spaces, which explores institutions' micro-geographies, plotting intentionally designed areas against the actual uses by management and inmates; telling the stories of the institutions through their cultures of space.¹⁴⁹

¹⁴⁷ *Rethinking the Institution in the Long Nineteenth Century Conference*, 13-14 July 2017 (Liverpool: John Moore's University).

¹⁴⁸ Hamlett, Hoskins and Preston, *Residential Institutions*, p. 94.

¹⁴⁹ Hester Parr, Chris Philo & Nicola Burns 'That Awful Place was Home': Reflections on the Contested Meanings of Craig Dunain Asylum, *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 119:4 (2003), pp. 341-360.

More specifically, although it follows different directions, my work builds upon Teresa Ploszajska's discussion of the 'Moral Landscapes and Manipulated Spaces' of reformatory schools contemporary with the *Shaftesbury*, and James Donald's analysis of the material and spatial 'hidden curriculum' of nineteenth century schooling.¹⁵⁰ Ploszajska's article focuses on examining the spatial rationales of Redhill Farm Reformatory School in Surrey, paying particular attention to the isolation it was seen to offer from inmates' physically and morally unsanitary urban homes, and its division of inmates into 'family' houses (a practice derived from Mettray). Referencing Philo, she notes that '

[t]he "family system" was a middle-class response to the perceived cause of juvenile delinquency; the breakdown of family discipline in disorderly working-class households. In reformatories, as in other Victorian institutions, it became part of a "spatial strategy in the production of useful individuals" – "useful" being defined by middle-class notions of a governable society.¹⁵¹

For Ploszajska, the 'evolving geographies of reformatory discipline' during the period were gendered and classed strategies. The problem of juvenile delinquency was constructed in relation to urban working-class domestic culture and the solution was provided in institutional reflections – spatial, cultural, and behavioral – of middle-class domesticity. It is an idea that also emerged from my readings of the *Shaftesbury's* own design and culture. Bourdieu's abstract configuration of 'social space', although it is explicitly rarely invoked, has underscored my interpretation of this pre-occupation with middle-class domestic culture in the story of the *Shaftesbury*. Bourdieu's work, begun with *Distinction* but furthered in a number of subsequent works, envisages cultural, social and symbolic capital as coordinates on a map of social space, designed to distinguish – literally set apart – groupings in the socio-economic order.¹⁵² Viewed in this relational space key material features of the *Shaftesbury* – its

¹⁵⁰ Teresa Ploszajska, 'Moral Landscapes and Manipulated Spaces: Gender, Class and Space in Victorian Reformatory Schools', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 20:4 (1994), pp. 413-429; James Donald, *Sentimental Education: Schooling, Popular Culture and the Regulation of Liberty*, London: Verso (1992)

¹⁵¹ Ploszajska, p. 426.

¹⁵² Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A social critique of the judgment of taste*. (London: Routledge Classics, 2010 (1984)); Pierre Bourdieu, *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action* (Cambridge: Polity, 1998).

height between decks, say, or its curtains – become exposed as significant political and cultural maneuverings by the SBL.

Ploszajska's work shows the influence of Felix Driver, and his mapping of the 'moral geography' of nineteenth century London; its 'moral plague spots', 'moral contagions' and the solutions such metaphors entailed.¹⁵³ Whilst my field and focus is not geographical, my analysis is at times concerned with the construction of analogous metaphorical 'borders' between the inmates and their families. My initial research into the ship began as a result of my interest in plotting relationships between the material culture of institutions and the metaphors that were used about and within them. Although my subject and focus changed, the research to follow continues my interest in the importance of metaphor to understanding the discourse and practices of the *Shaftesbury*. In contrast to the Aristotelian tradition, which views metaphor as a descriptive ornamentation of language, my analysis is influenced by the discussions of conceptual metaphor theorists such as Lakoff and Johnson, who view metaphor as primary to conception and lived experience.¹⁵⁴ The notions of the ship having a 'hard border' or being viewed as a 'container', which appear in later chapters, for instance, recall their work on 'primary metaphors' and the way in which experiential spatiality underscores moral and institutional rationalization.

In *Sentimental Education: Schooling, Popular Culture and the Regulation of Liberty*, Donald seeks to expose, 'what is sometimes referred to as "the hidden curriculum": the principles governing the organization of schooling and its forms of discipline and pedagogy....the shape of the schoolroom, the style of the teacher and the forms of behavior demanded of pupils'.¹⁵⁵ Donald sketches the history of the schoolroom in Britain, noting the primary importance of architecture and spatial practice in the philosophical periodization of schooling. The culmination

¹⁵³ Felix Driver, *Moral Geographies: social science and the urban environment in mid-nineteenth century England*, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 13:3 (1988), pp. 275-287, p. 284.

¹⁵⁴ George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Philosophy in the flesh: the embodied mind and its challenge to western thought* (New York: Basic books, 1999); George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, (1980). *Metaphors we live by* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

¹⁵⁵ Donald, p. 44-45.

of decades spent searching for a uniquely British style of schooling, he maintains, was realized in the work of Robson's architectural department. Robson's 'designs and buildings are of more than architectural interest: they are monuments to changing pedagogic aspirations'. Donald links the new 'scientific' school designs to the professionalization of schooling, and the increased monitoring, surveillance, and individuation of working-class pupils. The discussions of the *Shaftesbury* as a product of Robsonian design that follow attribute a similar importance to pedagogic space, but rarely in connection with the actual practices of formal education. The adoption of Robsonian 'scientific' design in the SBL's industrial school, I suggest, was a distinctly performative act, demonstrating a commitment to the enculturation of the truant and juvenile delinquent that mirrored the pedagogic revolutions of the Queen Anne school design. To paraphrase McLuhan, the materiality of the *Shaftesbury* was the message.

Given my themes and subject, the spectre of Foucault haunts the margins of this work. Discussing the growing ambivalence to *Discipline and Punish* within the academy, Otter notes that 'panopticism has been emptied of meaning to the point where it simply refers to any configuration of vision and power, and technological or architectural arrangement designed to facilitate the observation of some humans by others'.¹⁵⁶ The suggestion of over-use and over-reach may be applied more generally. From the late 1970s, histories that reference industrial schools have often been limited by a commitment to neo-Foucauldian teleology. When Carrington asserts that '[t]he use of reformatories and industrial training schools coincided with new ideas about the purposes of imprisonment (Foucault, 1977)', we witness the invocation of a meta-theory that has obscured as much as it has illuminated. Whilst my analysis shows the mediated influence of Foucauldian governmentality through the work of Donald, Rose and others, I remain suspicious of what Patrick Joyce has termed the 'crypto-functionalism' of governmentality

as if different governmentalities were not always in conflict, and as if they were coherent prescient, and unified. This failing is also apparent in the original work of Foucault, as well as that of his critic De Certeau,

¹⁵⁶ Chris Otter, *The Victorian Eye: A Political History of Light and Vision in Britain, 1800-1910* (London: University of Chicago Press), p. 4.

governmental techniques being construed as having built-in essence expressing an inherent political coherence and logic.¹⁵⁷

Practices related to governmentality that appear in the analysis to follow – the inculcation of self-regulation, the categorization and distribution of inmates between specialist institutions, for example – never posit successful or coherent technologies.

1.4.3 Sources, Timeframe and Limitations

The decision to limit my research to the first twenty years of the *Shaftesbury* is the result of a number of different considerations. Whilst there are few primary sources available for the *Shaftesbury*, the main one, the SMC Minutes Books in the London Metropolitan Archives (London Metropolitan Archives LMA/SBL/0363+) is extensive. The decision to limit my period still gave me access to 3,491 pages of committee minutes, transcribed correspondence, accounts, tenders, and a variety of other information. The precise period was chosen as it opened with the creation of the ship and ended with the opening of the bespoke infirmary, thus encompassing both the entropy of the ship and the evolution towards better medical provision. Very occasionally, I draw on sources outside my timeframe, particularly two annual reports of the *Shaftesbury* for the years 1900-1 and 1901-2.¹⁵⁸ It is hoped that the context of the discussion provides justification for this: the reports, for example, show a level of integration with the marine industry that both contrasts with that of my early period, and seems to be the fruit of endeavours towards the end of my period.

¹⁵⁷ Patrick Joyce, 'History and Governmentality', *Analise Social*, 49:212 (2014), pp. 752-756, p. 754.

¹⁵⁸ *Report of the Training Ship "Shaftesbury" for the Year Ended 25th July, 1901* The School Board for London (London: School Board for London Alexander and Shephard, 1901); *Report of the Training Ship "Shaftesbury" for the Year Ended 25th July, 1902* The School Board for London (London: School Board for London Alexander and Shephard, 1902).

The 1896 Report into Reformatory and Industrial Schools (Hereafter, DCRIC)¹⁵⁹ provides an extensive discussion of the *Shaftesbury's* culture and practices given by Captain Scriven, the Superintendent of the ship. It is the second most important, and most quoted, source. The report was the result of the Home Secretary creating a Departmental Committee in 1895

to inquire as to various matters concerning reformatory and industrial schools, including rules and their application to particular schools, classification and transfer of inmates, and to report what administrative changes or amendments in the law are expected in order to render these institutions more efficient.¹⁶⁰

The Committee's interviews with Captain Scriven, took place over two days and is presented in full transcript in the final report. Discussions ranged from systems of punishment on board, to the attitudes of Scriven on such things as female staff and the banning of pen-knives. The published transcript presented in numbered lines, and these are given when excerpts are referenced.

1.4.4 Thesis outline

In formulating the foci of my research, I have considered both the need to provide an account of the cultural and material construction of the *Shaftesbury* and the importance of using the ship to challenge and nuance many of the general tropes and assumptions about industrial schools that populate the literature.

Broadly, the chapters that follow are grouped together in pairs, linked by intention or theme. In the first two chapters, I present an overview of the discursive and material construction of the ship. **Chapter Two** draws on press accounts of the *Shaftesbury* to show the ship as a presence in the public sphere.

¹⁵⁹ Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and industrial schools, Vol. II: (Hereafter: DCRIC): Evidence and Index, (London:HMSO, 1896).

¹⁶⁰ 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools', *The British Medical Journal*, 1:1797 (8 June 1895), p. 1288.

Industrial training ships are sometimes presented as dangerously ‘private’ institutions in the manner of the *Wellesley*, yet tracing the *Shaftesbury*’s journalistic ‘fingerprint’ from scandals to court-accounts shows it to be central to many political and legal debates of the era, as well as a popular object of public praise and derision. Section one offers narration of the two major scandals to trouble the *Shaftesbury* through the lens of the papers that helped to create them. Section two examines press accounts of the ship’s annual ‘Prize Day’ and the court accounts of inmates, drawing out themes from the representation of the ship in both as the start of discussions about its practices. The use of newspaper sources supplies a grounded presentation of the ship in the contemporary public sphere in addition to providing evidence of the importance of the press in the culture and management of the ship.

Chapter Three provides both a ‘tour’ of the ship, and readings of its cultures of space, that are drawn upon substantially in the rest of the thesis. In the absence of plans, the chapter reconstructs the ship deck-by-deck, paying particular attention to the cultures of space and aesthetics that made the ship unique. Both chapter two and three record contemporary accusations that the ship was over luxurious and feminising, and chapter three explores and evaluates the evidence of middle-class domestic aesthetics on board. The chapter also seeks to reclaim the importance of the Robsonian design elements of the *Shaftesbury* from suggestions that the ship’s form was accidental or poorly planned. In addition to laying a groundwork of evidence for the chapters to follow, the aim of the chapters was to provide a more complex presentation of an industrial school ship’s presence – in both print and iron – than is currently available, to assist with future accounts of industrial school culture.

The second pair of chapters, four and five, are direct attempts to challenge and nuance common tropes about industrial schools and industrial schools ships that weigh down the historical analysis of the *Shaftesbury*. **Chapter Four** explores the system of punishment and reward on board the ship. Almost universally, academic literature has cast industrial schools and school ships as overly punitive environments, which easily slipped into regimes of illegal, cruel punishments. In response, section one details the systems that checked and

restrained corporal punishment on board. Section two explores the *Shaftesbury's* rewards and privileges system, a little discussed area of industrial school discipline. The *Shaftesbury* used a system of behavioural badges that accompanied rewards of money and spatial freedom, a technology apparently designed to foster self-regulation.

Chapter Five explores the *Shaftesbury's* sea-training and links to the merchant marine industry, aspects of its culture often associated in the existing literature with the exposing of inmates to physical danger or transforming them into economic subalterns. Whilst sea-faring roles were dangerous and unpredictable, the *Shaftesbury's* difficulty in finding berths for inmates who wished to go to sea, produced changes in attitudes to risk and agency during my research period. Documenting the confusion, suffering and risk the ship's involvement with various aspects of sea training and work exposed inmates to, the chapter discusses the administrative failings of the ship amid the depressed sea-trade of the late nineteenth century. By the end of my research period, however, more secure positions were being found for inmates with large steamer companies that had higher standards of safety. In addition, the trouble with finding inmates willing to go to sea, led to unexpected levels of agency and choice for inmates in moving to and from the ship.

The final two chapters are the product of themes that developed organically during my reading of the sources, and share themes of sanitation, health metaphors, and border practices. **Chapter Six** examines the *Shaftesbury's* relationship to the families and streets its inmates came from in relation to notions of isolation and negotiated access. Beginning with the metaphorical 'borders' set up between the ship and streets in contemporary discourse, section one moves to examine the policing of the border between the *Shaftesbury* and its inmates' families. Robsonian design and the Captain's paternalism, I suggest, appear sometimes to offer the ship the air of an alternative domestic space. Section two begins by examining spectacle in the actual border practices of the ship, discussing the significance of visitations by interested groups and families. Finally, the chapter posits the uniform as a functional border, and social practice, of the ship.

Chapter Seven explores the medical culture with respect to its treatment, isolation and quarantine provision. Recent literature has suggested that Irish industrial schools functioned as proto-paediatric environments, adapting seamlessly to emergent 'germ-theory' models of best practice. This chapter shows the *Shaftesbury's* medical provision to be far more compromised by disinterested management, poor facilities and struggles over administrative territory. Section one focuses on the two inadequate infirmaries used by the *Shaftesbury*, the jurisdictional disagreements that left the ship forced to create *ad hoc* isolation provision, and the Medical Officer's torturous steps toward gaining adequate quarantine provision. Section two explores how ventilation operated as one of the primary health discourses and practices of the ship, presenting evidence that miasmatic aetiologies were presented by experts alongside germ-theory explanations of diseases. Changes in the discussion of the ship's 'air-space', from Robsonian, to scientific ventilation, and finally to minimum industry requirements, reflected the ship's difficulty maintaining its culture as numbers rose. Finally, the chapter suggests that endemic diseases should be taken into consideration when assessing any claims that the *Shaftesbury* was a provider of healthcare.

Chapter Two: Representations of the *Shaftesbury* in Contemporary National and Regional Press

Introduction

This chapter tracks the formation of the press representation and narratives of the *Shaftesbury* during my research period, and offers exploration of a number of ‘stories’ and themes that dominate the ship’s coverage. The aim is two-fold. On the one hand, the chapter highlights the ship as a politicized presence in the public sphere, where it functioned as a proxy for attacks against the SBL. As quickly becomes clear, such depictions of the ship in the press also played a vital role in creating and constraining the actual management and practices on board: most obviously with regard to scandals. On the other hand, the chapter goes beyond simply recording press accounts, using thematic narration of coverage over time as a springboard to introduce vital background to the chapters to follow. The discussion of the *Shaftesbury*’s appearance in court accounts, for example, is concerned with which papers are reporting and how articles are framed, but also with more empirical analysis of the changes in the nature of sentencing to the ship.

Articles about the *Shaftesbury* began to appear in national papers in April 1878. In the majority, these were merely records of staff appointed to the ship,¹ or trial reports of a boy sentenced to it.² *The Times* ran two stock-taking articles: monies allotted to the ship at a Board meeting;³ proposals to request £690 for a training yacht from the Home Office.⁴ There is a temptation to suggest that this is how pleasantly mundane the *Shaftesbury*’s press should have remained in a scandal-free world: as uneventful as 1887 or 1891 appear in *Figure 1*. Yet, as I discuss in the pages to follow, this is to misunderstand the cause and effect of the

¹ e.g. ‘Officials appointed to the *Shaftesbury*’, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 2 May 1878; *Daily News*, 2 May 1878; *The Standard*, 2 May 02 1878, p. 4; 27 June 1878, p. 2.

² The case of a boy named Watkins: *Lloyd’s Weekly*, 8 September 1878; *The Standard*, 9 September 1878.

³ *The Times*, 4 April 1878, p. 10.

⁴ *The Times*, 9 May 1878, p. 11.

two large scandals that rocked the ship. Even before July 1878, when the *Daily News*, *Standard*, and *Lloyd's Weekly* first noted that the expense of the *Shaftesbury* was to be referred to special committee,⁵ the *Shaftesbury* seems predestined to receive adverse coverage in the press. Whilst the head of the Industrial Schools Committee in charge of the ship's creation, Thomas Scrutton, must shoulder some of the blame (whether the eventual cost of the ship was proof of fraud, ambition or mismanagement we can only speculate), the press stories followed a template established for critiques of the SBL. As I suggest in section one, the *Shaftesbury* scandals, particularly the first one, consisted of attacks upon the SBL by proxy.

By October 1879, the conservative periodical *John Bull* was able to suggest that an 'extravagant rate of expenditure...has rendered the name of the *Shaftesbury* training-ship a bye-word'.⁶ In fact, of course, the conceptual association of the *Shaftesbury* with expense, luxury, financial waste, administrative faddism, was still under construction by the press. This framing of the *Shaftesbury* was convenient for the Conservative press who loathed the SBL's interventionism, progressivism, bureaucracy, democracy and expense to the rate-payer. One must resist, however, the temptation to draw a general distinction between newspapers on party grounds too readily. Certainly the conservative papers, such as *The Morning Post* and *Standard*, at times out-scaled other publications in the column space they dedicated to renegade Board members calling for the *Shaftesbury* to be sold or critiques of the SBL's management of the ship. However qualitative analysis reveals that the epithets that dogged the ship ('scandalous', for example) and the pejorative coverage, with remarkably few exceptions, permeated the more liberal regional and national press as well. The clearest case for a 'least hostile' paper is the *Daily News*. In 1879, a difficult year for the ship, the *Daily News*' only coverage was positive pieces, one of which provides the sole attempt in contemporary popular press to give a complete deck-by-deck description of the ship. The paper did not even mention the *Shaftesbury* once

⁵ *Daily News*, 4 July 1878; *The Standard*, 4 July 1878, p. 4; *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 7 July 1878.

⁶ *John Bull*, 4 October 1879, p. 633.

during the 1896 scandal, which, given the press attention to the subject, could be interpreted as a significant statement in itself. Yet the history of the British press at the end of the nineteenth century warns against accepting even the *Daily News*' favourable bias *prima facie*. The paper contributed significantly to the high number of 'negative' reports the *Shaftesbury* received in 1881 (see *Figure 1*): its article detailing a motion to sell the *Shaftesbury*, syndicated in regional papers, accounted for eight of the fourteen negative reports for that year. Even reporting on an unrelated court case in 1884, the *Daily News* describes the *Shaftesbury*, in a somewhat ambiguous gesture, as 'formerly maligned'.⁷ It would be difficult to prove whether the Conservative newspapers, admittedly more enthusiastic wave makers, were ever more effective at sullyng the *Shaftesbury* name than those of a Liberal persuasion.

The chapter to follow is divided into two sections. In the first section I will explore the press reports of the scandals and internal Board politics that adversely affected the *Shaftesbury*. It is a narrative woven around semi-luxurious objects - rugs, curtains, York hams - that constantly threatened to sink the ship under their symbolic weight. In section two I will examine the *Shaftesbury* that appears at annual inspection day and in 'police and court' columns. In contrast to the 'ship of scandal', this is a more confident institution, capable of mobilizing advocacy and appealing to changing demands in the justice system.

The research that follows is based upon *Shaftesbury* mentions in: 400 articles from the British Library 'British Newspapers 1600-1950' archive (dated from May 1878 to November 1900); 113 articles from *The Times* digital archive (April 1878 to November 1900); 21 articles in Gale's 19th Century Periodicals (from August 1879 to June 1897). In addition, following an 'industrial training ship' keyword search, over 100 hundred articles were selected for further examination of the 612 found in the British Library 'British Newspapers 1600-1950' archive (January 1877 to December 1900), and 2 articles from Gale's *Illustrated London News* Archive (June 1877 to August 1878). In total, 650-700 articles have been read, resulting in a collection of around 550 PDFs organised

⁷ 'LONDON', *Daily News*, 20 February 1884.

into subject-indexed tables. The quantitative data presented in the chapter is based upon the sources dated between 1878 and 1898 from the British Library British Newspapers 1600-1950 archive and *The Times* digital archive.

Despite the large number of newspaper mentions of the *Shaftesbury* that my research has uncovered, the discussion drawn from them below – particularly that depending upon quantitative data – comes with two provisos. The first is that quantitative data cited, and, to a lesser extent, the thematic discussion in the chapter to follow, draw their validity from the accuracy of the archive search engines used. It is difficult to estimate an absence of newspaper articles, although it seems likely that a percentage of them will have fallen through the net of my research. The second proviso regards the necessarily messy business of coding complex news items into simple categories. My coding of newspaper ‘police and trial’ columns into simplistic ‘positive’, ‘neutral’ or ‘negative’ categories serves as a good example of why the quantitative data is used to assist rather than lead qualitative discussion in the chapter to follow. ‘Police and trial’ columns were a feature of most papers, although the amount of space and detail dedicated to individual cases varied according to both the paper and ‘human interest’. Except where the *Shaftesbury* had itself been on trial, I have recorded trial accounts as ‘neutral’ in my quantitative analysis. Reading between the lines however, the court accounts which name the *Shaftesbury* during this period could be said to contribute to a positive narrative about the vessel as a refuge rather than a workhouse. The only piece of coding on display in *Figure 1* is ‘EXP’, a category for articles that discuss the expense of the *Shaftesbury* as a cause for concern or in a pejorative way. It is likely that in some years’ newspaper coverage the topic will present more often than the coding shows, as ‘EXP’ does not include articles that, for example, defend the *Shaftesbury* from such allegations (whilst providing a chance for the paper to repeat them).

Research for this chapter was undertaken with the general aim of presenting a snapshot of the *Shaftesbury* as it appeared in national and regional press from 1879-1898. In addition to its physical presence, the ship was a cultural object in the public sphere, and the site of considerable political interest. In the end I have

opted to present my findings as five inter-related narratives based around the most significant events (the 1879 and 1896 scandals), theme (anti-*Shaftesbury* feeling within the SBL), and topics (inspection day and trial reports).

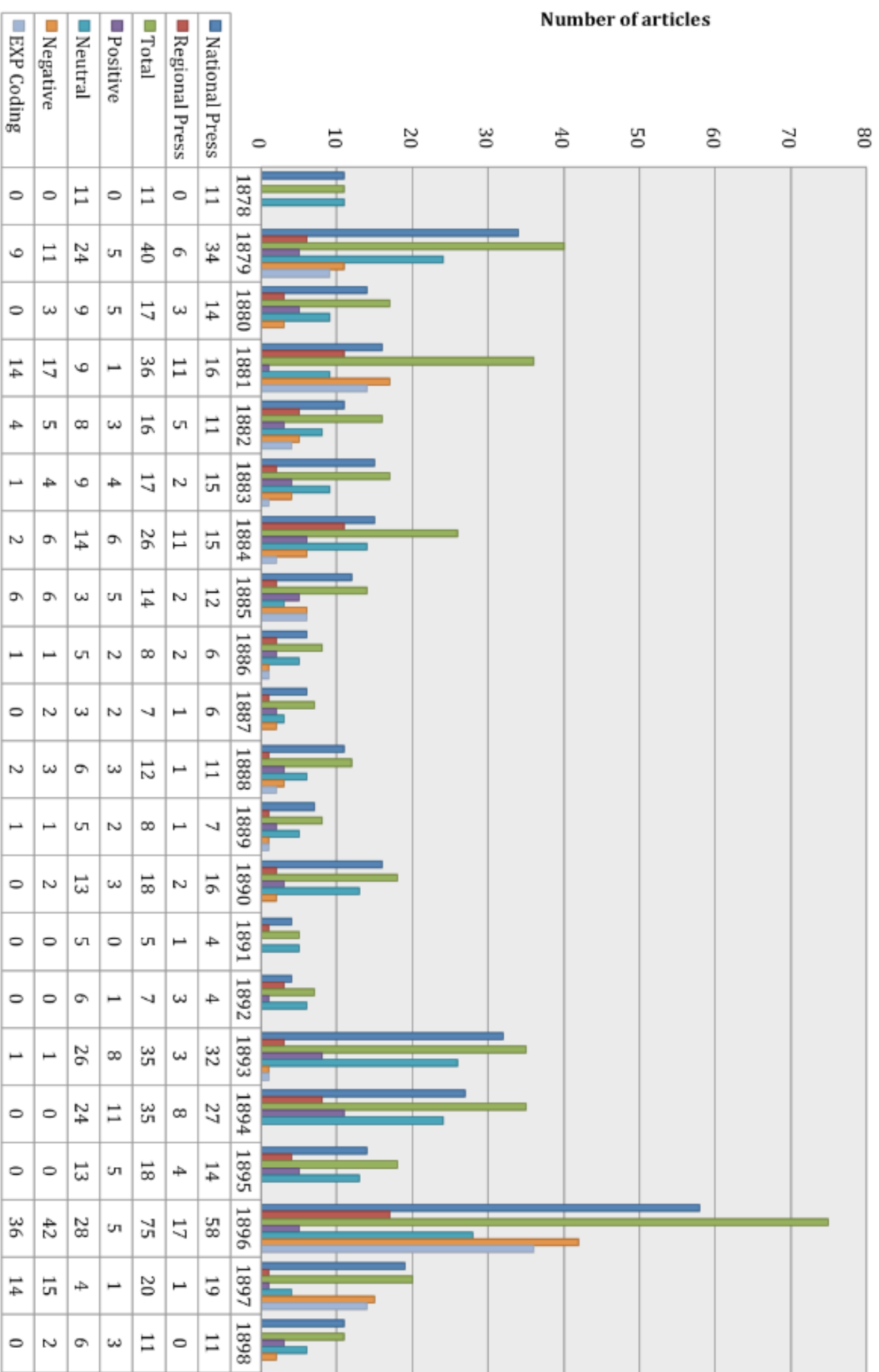


Figure 1: 'Shaftesbury' mentions in national and regional press, 1878-1898

In the discussion below I have used 'national press' as a category that includes the London papers which had considerable subscriptions, sales and reach across the country in the period. In contrast, 'regional press' is used to describe papers (weekly or daily) that were printed beyond the capital. The period covered by my research marks the beginnings of the demand, logistical infrastructure and culture of a national press. The extensive railway network, and the stratospheric rise of W.H. Smith on the back of it, were just two of the reasons why London morning papers were being sold in regional towns such as Norwich and Southampton by 1875, something that would have been impossible a decade before.¹ Opinion has remained divided on the major causes of increased readership of London papers (and the increase in regional papers) that marked the last three decades of the nineteenth century. As Brown puzzles: 'The increase in the *Standard's* circulation from 30-46,000 in 1860 to 160-170,000 in 1874, at a time when it showed no particular editorial merit, shows how easily new penny readers could be recruited'.² Factors often suggested to have played a part include improvements in household lighting and increased literacy levels, although the most obvious option is the rise of the 'penny paper', which the *Standard* and many other London papers became. Where previously the more expensive, less regularly obtainable papers had opted for content based around long-winded digests of recent events (papers often being passed around like novels in the regions for months), the speed of the new market enabled a novel style of journalism to emerge. The 'New Journalism', initiated by the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Pall Mall Gazette*, and eventually epitomized by the *Daily Mail*, seems purpose built for the new quick-reading public, 'shorter paragraphs, larger and more informative headlines, and the increasing use of illustration all helped break the drear monotony of the mid-Victorian daily'.³ Following an American model, New Journalism was obsessed with the 'human interest' story. From the introduction of the parliamentary sketch to an increased emotional voyeurism of the previous day's tragic occurrences, the ascendant papers during

¹ Alan J. Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England: 1855-1914*. (London: Croom Helm, 1976).

² Lucy Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985).

³ Lee, *The Origins*.

my period were full of sensation. Indeed it may be suggested that the press obsession with the 'scandalous' luxury of the *Shaftesbury*, and the dramatic reportage of Scriven's court appearances, which are discussed in this chapter, typify the new style. Exempting grand occasions such as the visit of the Duke of York, papers were unwilling to dedicate equal column space to the mundane positive stories from the ship, such as the ship band's rising reputation.

Newspaper party affiliations and political leanings play a role in the amount and tone of their *Shaftesbury* coverage, which often follow party lines on the School Board for London (SBL). The *Standard*, which was literally financially dependent upon the Conservative Party for a swathe of the nineteenth century, is perhaps an example of how significant a bias could be.⁴ Party affiliations and the 1870 prices of the London-based national dailies are detailed in Table 1 below. The prices speak to the papers' readership. As an expensive paper, for example, '*The Morning Post*, it was said, was read by gentlemen and by gentlemen's gentlemen, by ladies and by ladies maids'.⁵ *Reynolds's Newspaper* (1d.) and *Lloyd's Weekly* (1d.), in contrast, are best categorized by their distinctive targeting of working-class readerships.⁶ G.W.N. Reynolds, an extraordinarily popular writer of melodramatic fiction in Victorian England, is the biggest editorial influence on both papers' house style and one of the pioneers of mass media in English. The papers had a reputation for 'a combination of political commentary, news of various sorts with a special interest in the activities of the working class, sensational stories of bizarre events, crimes and gossip'.⁷ In practice this meant the papers reference the *Shaftesbury* most often as part of trial reports.

⁴ Lucy Brown, *Victorian News and Newspapers*.

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ Anne Humphreys, (1990). 'Popular Narrative and Political Discourse in Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper' in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, ed. By Laurel Blake, Aled Jones and Lionel Madden (London: MacMillan, 1990).

⁷ Anne Humphreys, 'Popular Narrative and Political Discourse in Reynolds's Weekly Newspaper', in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, ed. by Laurel Brake, Aled Jones and Lionel Madden (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 1990), p. 36.

Newspaper	Political Party affiliation ⁸	1878 Price ⁹
<i>Daily News</i>	Liberal	1d. (BL)
<i>Daily Telegraph</i>	Liberal	1d. (L)
<i>The Times</i>	Independent	3d. (TA)
<i>The Morning Post</i>	Conservative	3d. (BL)
<i>Standard</i>	Conservative	1d. (BL)
<i>Pall Mall Gazette</i> (Evening)	Liberal	2d. (BL)

Table 3: London-based 'national' dailies in 1878

Section One: Lambast and lampoon

2.1.0 A costly birth: The 1879 'Rug Scandal'

With the exception of that other 'scandalous' year 1896, 1879 was year the *Shaftesbury* received most press coverage: thirty-four articles in national press, six in regional (c.f. *Figure 1*). Unlike the intrigues of the later scandal, the facts that emerged were apparently straight-forward, and are touched on above in the introductory chapter. Having failed to secure the loan of an admiralty ship to re-fit as an industrial schools ship, the SBL bought a former P & O vessel (the *Nubia*) at a relatively cheap price (£7,000), but its re-fit costs spiralled out of control. The Home Office was initially quoted and asked to loan a figure of £15,000 for the enterprise, from initial purchase to cutting the ribbon at opening day. The eventual cost reached £43,474. Unfortunately, the story fitted nicely into an existing narrative of the SBL as financially and administratively incompetent and wasteful, and received a substantial amount of press coverage. This was cause for some grave questions of the Industrial School Committee and its chairman, Thomas Scrutton. An SBL inquiry, sparked by newspaper interest, found that Scrutton had not made the tendering a competitive process to drive down costs,

⁸ Adapted from Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England: 1855-1914*.

⁹ 'BL' gathered from scanned copies in the British Library Newspapers 1600-1950 Archive; 'TA' from the Times Digital Archive; 'L' from Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England: 1855-1914*.

and the renovation had proceeded without any plans being drawn up. Yet it was the inquiry report itself, or discussion of it in the press, that irreparably tarnished the *Shaftesbury*'s name. The report gave a priced inventory for the re-fit, listing an array of luxurious items for the officers' and captain's quarters: 'twelve Caspian rugs at 21s. each, nine Kurd rugs at 13. 6d each, and seven Caspian rugs at 30s. each' quoted *The Morning Post*, whose anger seemed compounded by the fact that the objects were to adorn rooms for staff 'including the carpenter, the night watchman, the stoker, and the lamp-man'.¹⁰ To any contemporary, or historian, familiar with officer training ship furnishings of the period, there is not much to cause consternation. As Scrutton maintained, the cabins were 'not only bedrooms but also sitting-rooms' and the Captain and his family 'are called upon to make the ship their home...to withhold a piano would be to exhibit a parsimony'.¹¹ In fact, as the photograph of *HMS Worcester* presented in *Figure 2* demonstrates, captain's quarters were often created to look like luxurious living rooms ashore. The image shows the captain's wife sitting in the 'drawing room' aboard. Although the *Worcester* trained a different class of boy, and carried an official title of 'The Thames Nautical Training College' from 1875, the status of the officers and captain on the *Shaftesbury* was no different to that on the fee-paying ship.

The problem, of course, was that the *Shaftesbury* was not an officer training ship. *The Morning Post*, breaking the story of the inventory, notes that the £43,474 ship was only 'for the reception of the offscourings of the London streets'. Interestingly, despite its claim that neither it nor any 'reasonable rate-payer would grudge' the captain a certain level of luxury in his furnishings, there is a sense that the function of the ship is devalued as the value of objects within it increases. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the harmonium 'which cost £43' and 'is enclosed in a case which cost £36 2s. 2d'.¹² *The Morning Post*

¹⁰ 'The Proceedings Of The London School Board At Its Last Meeting Are A Fine Study For The Ratepayers Of The Metropolitan District', *The Morning Post*, 19 March 1879, p. 4.

¹¹ 'This Evening's News', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 13 March 1879.

¹² 'The Proceedings Of The London School Board At Its Last Meeting Are A Fine

seems to be suggesting that the harmonium itself – priced as it is along with the fine rugs – is a luxury item alien to the environment of the *Shaftesbury*. Yet we are told in the deck-by-deck breakdown that appears in the *Daily News* that the harmonium is in fact a central part of the school deck, and it does not appear a luxurious importation in its account:

The school-room, eighty feet long and eight and a half feet high, is lighted by twenty-two one-pane windows and may be pronounced a model of what a school-room should be in arrangement, appliances, light, air, and cleanliness. In the centre is the harmonium for keeping the lads together while singing, but musical instruction on the more martial and noisier instruments ... is confined to the band-room in the lower regions.¹³

The school deck also houses ‘the Captain-Superintendent’s quarter, the board room, and rooms for the committee when paying their periodical visit’ as well as two class rooms that can be converted into one if needed. I add these details from the most detailed contemporary source we have to suggest that part of the issue critics had with the ‘luxurious’ re-fit was that they were willing the *Shaftesbury* to be what it wasn’t, a basic training vessel. The critics’ expectation was not without good reason. As mentioned in chapter one, life aboard the *Clio*, which accepted school board boys, was harrowingly basic. Reading between the lines, the grounds on which luxury was being objected to on the *Shaftesbury*, then, seem pedagogical. The industrial training ship was expected to teach hard lessons to street children, a function that had an established aesthetic and pedagogic tradition that the *Shaftesbury* had ignored.

The scandal meant that the general attacks against the SBL’s expense and administration had a new, cast-iron example of wastefulness. We can turn (once again) to *The Morning Post* for an account of a conference, in May 1879, of representatives of ‘vestries and district boards’ of London, convened to ‘protest against the monstrous extravagance of the London School Board’.¹⁴ Delegates

Study For The Rateplayers Of The Metropolitan District’, *The Morning Post*, 19 March 1879, p. 4.

¹³ ‘The Training-Ship *Shaftesbury*’, *Daily News*, 25 March 1879.

¹⁴ ‘School Board Expenditure’, *The Morning Post*, 16 May 1879, p. 6.

discussed how a Board school had been ‘thrust’ upon inhabitants who didn’t need or want it as they had voluntary schools already and that the three-pence in the pound rate that had been predicted was now six-pence and rising. Admiral Arthur Duncombe, a Conservative politician, ‘ridiculed the expenditure connected with the *Shaftesbury* training-ship’ before convening a memorial to the government on the ‘extravagant expenditure’ of the SBL. The following month *The Standard* quotes at length from one of the conference attendees, Reginald Yorke MP, as he brought the issue to the House of Commons. The speech, like most conservative attacks on the SBL, was scattergun: the SBL cost too much per child, excluded poor children, forced middle-class schools to close, taught the wrong subjects. For this study, however, the most significant section is when Yorke brings the criticism back to the SBL’s buildings, people and furnishings themselves:

Let them first take the head office with its celebrated 400-guinea carpet and its sumptuous furniture (hear hear)....There was a singing inspector at 33/., a deaf and dumb inspector at 300/., a needlework inspector at 175/.,...one blind inspector who cost only 90/., and a drill inspector at 170/. A year, which was a handsome addition to the pay of a retired serjeant [sic] (hear, hear, and laughter). When they came to the architect’s department they found that there was a head architect at 1000/. A year, an assistant at 360/., and an inspector of furniture, 245/. (laughter)...He would now come to the well-known case of the training-ship *Shaftesbury*.¹⁵

As Yorke’s speech suggests, the critique of the SBL’s preference for ‘sumptuous furniture’ did not originate with the *Shaftesbury*, but dates from the opening of the SBL’s offices on Victoria Embankment in the mid-1870s. The SBL had faced criticism of this kind for many years, ironically often from MPs delivering speeches in the ornate surroundings of Parliament. The *Shaftesbury* had indeed become a ‘byeword’ in Westminster and the press; one need only mention its name and a point regarding the SBL’s general mismanagement seemed made. Charges against the *Shaftesbury* on this front followed a template already formed by criticism of the SBL’s offices.

¹⁵ *The Standard*, 11 June 1879, p. 2.

It perhaps needs to be said that the readings discussed above in no way deny that the cost of furnishing the *Shaftesbury* was a valid cause for concern. The tendency of the SBL to underestimate and overspend was a source of complaint and satire for good reason. As we will see in the following subsection, candidates stood for and were elected to the Board on platforms dedicated to cutting the SBL's spiraling budgets, implying public concern. The SBL's offices at the Embankment, for instance, grew from plans of a large office building published in the *Architect* in May 1873, to the huge gated edifice that became an easy target for enraged ratepayers. The *Shaftesbury* was 'read' in this context.



Figure 2: The 'Drawing Room' on *HMS Worcester* c.1885¹⁶

2.1.1 *Enemies within: The Shaftesbury and the Board*

One problem for the *Shaftesbury* was that as a new venture it continued to need extra funding in the years following 1879 despite already having built a reputation for expense and waste. The press happily reported each request, but

¹⁶ National Maritime Museum Archives: MSS85/144.1 '*HMS Worcester*, list of prizes presented on board': uncatalogued image.

one can almost audibly hear Board members groan with each new proposal. Whether in the name of political expediency or deeply held belief, the *Shaftesbury* and the SBL's money management became key themes of electioneering: one finds, for example, Charles White "the ratepayers" candidate for Lambeth, who advocates economy and a reduction of the school rate.¹⁷ This is perhaps why, in May 1880, when the *Shaftesbury* asked for funding to create its own swimming bath it chose to present this in a very dramatic way, with a tale of an officer rescuing a boy from drowning and accompanied by a petition concerning the need for the boys to learn to swim for the future safety of Britain's mercantile marine.¹⁸ Even so, the decision was delayed and debated at great length.¹⁹ Meanwhile another application from the ship continued to vex the SBL throughout February.²⁰ This was likely to have been an application for funds to once more re-fit the *Shaftesbury*, this time to increase the maximum boys the ship could take from three-hundred and fifty to five hundred.²¹ In the end, the plan – which increased the ship's utility and boosted its finances – was approved, but received only sparing coverage in *The Times*,²² *Lloyd's Weekly*²³ and a Middlesborough regional paper.²⁴ The money was to be borrowed from the Public Works Loan Committee, and an amendment (By Miss Taylor, which failed 20 to 8) was suggested to borrow the money only for a year and sell the ship within that time.²⁵

Aside from the coverage of the ref-fit funds, the ignominious discussion of the possibility of selling the ship attracted seven regional and one national paper. The defence won the debate, but its central argument – that the *Shaftesbury* should be kept because it would cost too much to house the existing inmates elsewhere – did little to boost the ship's reputation. Proposals to sell the ship

¹⁷ 'The London School Board Elections', *The Times*, 12 Nov 1879, p. 10.

¹⁸ 'Private Bills In Parliament', *The Times*, 13 May 1880, p. 6.

¹⁹ 'Whitsuntide Amusements', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 16 May 1880.

²⁰ 'Summary Of This Morning's News', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 18 February 1881; *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 20 February 1881.

²¹ 'London Notes', *The Daily Gazette*, 6 May 1881, p. 3.

²² 'The London School Board', *The Times*, 16 May 1881, p. 9.

²³ *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 27 March 1881.

²⁴ 'London Notes', *The Daily Gazette*, 6 May 1881, p. 3.

²⁵ 'The London School Board', *The Times*, 16 May 1881, p. 9.

were popular throughout the 1880s and 1890s, often, like the one discussed above in May 1881, brought in retaliation for proposals made on behalf of the ship. Mrs Surr, for example, proposed a motion to sell off the *Shaftesbury* in December the same year following a request by the Industrial Schools Committee regarding the need to re-position the ship in the Thames at an estimated cost of £870. The way the *Shaftesbury* is discussed in the debate, recorded in the *Daily News* (one of the more *Shaftesbury*-friendly papers, as we have seen) is illustrative of how the ship had become viewed by many as a kind of administrative black-hole. Surr, a notable opponent of the *Shaftesbury*, described the inflated budget as having ‘gone down the maw of this insatiable monster – (laughter) – and more money would follow if the ship was allowed to exist’.²⁶ Mr Richardson put the case more simply: ‘the *Shaftesbury* has been a mistake from the commencement...and it was a mistake still’. The counter argument seemed muted and sentimental: Mrs Westlake talked of ‘much good for many poor children’ and giving the ship ‘a fair chance’. Although the anti-*Shaftesbury* ‘leaders’ inside the SBL – principally Surr, Taylor, Lobb and Riley - never managed to get the *Shaftesbury* sold, their complaints against the ship from inside the Board fascinated the press and support for the ship was always uncertain. When the *Shaftesbury* desperately needed a new training yacht to replace the condemned Swift, the expenditure was passed after long debate with fifteen members in opposition.²⁷ Whether it won them votes or served their conscience, the *Shaftesbury* became an obsession for all of the five named above. As *The Times* reported in December 1881, the few core members who opposed the *Shaftesbury* had come to define their whole position at the Board by way of the ship, forcing them into ever more unreasonable actions:

The very members who now pose as the humanitarian and philanthropic members bitterly oppose the purchase of sea boots for the boys of the *Shaftesbury* engaged, during the winter storms, in cleaning the decks;

²⁶ ‘The School-Board And The *Shaftesbury* Training-Ship’, *Daily News*, 9 December 1881.

²⁷ ‘Special Sunday Morning Edition’, *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 15 March 1885.

these very members...went so far as to say that the boys would do their work with naked feet, for the sea boots would be 'to coddle them'.²⁸

The *Shaftesbury*, read through these attacks and defences played out in the Board's debating rooms, always seemed rescued but never redeemed. When the Chairman of the Industrial Schools Committee arranged for Board members and their guests to visit the ship in July 1882 in a gesture surely designed to build bridges, the 'opponents of the expense of the ship' stayed at home.

There were times, however, when rumours of a new, mature style of politics appeared to be about to usher in a better era for the *Shaftesbury* at the Board. Throughout the 1870s the Board - a democratic stew of opposing classes, cultures, and political outlooks - was known for its volatility. There was slander, private prosecutions,²⁹ open contempt between rival committees, and frequent leaks to the newspapers. After repeated criticism (in the same papers that continued to report leaks), there seems to have been a general belief that the 1882 Board elections offered a chance to put an end to the bickering and belligerence. This led to softer positions on issues that had previously been seen as factional, such as the *Shaftesbury*. In the run up to the election even a Mrs Miller, set to campaign on a wasteful expenditure ticket, viewed the *Shaftesbury* topic as something 'she would not go into...at any length, as it was said to have been condoned at the last election'.³⁰ William Forster, electioneering in typically magnanimous style, summed up a general position:

He had visited the *Shaftesbury* training ship, and he was pleased to see the boys there, and thought they had a good chance for the future; but he agreed that a great deal more money had been spent on the ship than ought to have not been spent...but if ever there was an illustration of the old proverb of penny wise and pound foolish it would be in the paying down of the rates so as not to give the best education that could be given.³¹

Yet, as the *Sheffield and Rotherham Independent* reported in March 1883, the old

²⁸ 'The *Shaftesbury* Training Ship', *The Times*, 13 December 1881, p. 7.

²⁹ 'News Items', *The Standard*, 20 January 1882, p. 4.

³⁰ 'The School Board Election', *Daily News*, 24 October 1882.

³¹ 'The School Board Election', *Daily News*, 24 October 1882.

disagreements were quick to return,³² and with them the demonising of the *Shaftesbury*. Excepting a brief caesura in the mid 1890s, Surr, Taylor, Lobb and Riley continued to appear in the press, challenging the *Shaftesbury*'s usefulness and expenditure, until the Board's demise.

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2.1.2 *Ship of Fools: The 1896 'Tripe Scandal'*

From late 1896 a fresh scandal enveloped the *Shaftesbury*, one that had all the elements of a farce or comic opera: officers squandering money meant for inmates on extravagant breakfasts, an absconding suspect, dramatic and comedic court exchanges, and a heart-rending suicide. Joseph Henry Potter, butcher to the *Shaftesbury*, and Frederick Tyler, its clerk, were charged with defrauding the SBL via a system by which more meat was paid for at a local butchers than was ever received on board ship. Over a period of years, the monies involved were substantial. Even without the inevitable leak from a militant member of the Industrial School Committee (Riley),³³ it seems likely to have provoked a public trial. This was eventually begun at Grays' magistrates' court, and concluded at the Essex Assizes. Potter was remanded alone, Tyler having fled (he was never caught). The SBL, as prosecutors, had likely hoped for a quick and quiet trial. This was not to be. The defence – the theatrical George Clinch – promised revelations to 'astonish the London School Board'.³⁴ Clinch brought a great deal of press attention to the rural magistrates, 'The London School Board Scandal: SOME SENSATIONS PROMISED' barked the headlines from Aberdeen to the capital. As *Figure 1* shows, 1896 marked both the largest number articles in national and regional papers and the most negative articles in one year. The defence suggested that the Captain had in fact authorized or allowed a system of informal ordering to develop which accounted for the

³² 'Multiple News Items', *The Sheffield & Rotherham Independent*, 12 March 1883, p. 2.

³³ 'The London School Board', *The Standard*, 4 December 1896, p. 8.

³⁴ 'Life In America', *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 28 November 1896.

discrepancy, but also suggested that the officers had dined luxuriously by charging meats to the boys' food budget provided by the SBL. Clinch effectively reversed the trial: having often to be reminded that it was not the captain of the *Shaftesbury* who was the accused.³⁵ The coverage made the accounts of the 1879 scandal seem austere, revelling in the opulent foodstuffs consumed by the ship's officers, particularly the breakfasts of hams and tripe detailed by a 'messman' witness.³⁶ The lengthy cross-examination of Captain Scriven, clearly out of his depth against a baying Clinch, reads a little uncomfortably:

[Scriven] admitted that the Committee had luncheon on board when they visited the ship, that Surrey capons, York hams, etc, were provided for prize-day, that the officers were in the habit of having chops, steaks, sausages, tripe and fowls for their breakfasts, and that these were got from Mr. Potter, though there was no provision for them in the contract. The supplies to the Themis, the training-cutter attached to the ship, and the shore infirmary were also obtained in the same way, all being accounted for by being entered against the boys.³⁷

Many reports focussed almost exclusively on the extent and quality of foodstuffs. In a paragraph of just one hundred and ten words describing the episode, the *Standard* spends sixty nine of them detailing the officers' menus: 'officers on the different days of the week had for breakfast sausages, steak, bacon, chops; and when they ran short of bacon they sent for butcher's meat once a week, or more frequently'. The tables had been turned on the prosecution, and the *Shaftesbury* was once again on trial in the press as a representative of SBL financial mismanagement and misappropriation. Inevitably, the affair led to motions to sell the *Shaftesbury* at the SBL.³⁸

One notable feature of the coverage is how ridicule and humour, apparently present at the trial, find their way into print. In the main this involves 'tripe', already in this time a synonym for 'balderdash', but perhaps also an amusing

³⁵ 'The *Shaftesbury* Scandal', *The Standard*, 12 December 1896, p. 2.

³⁶ 'To-Day's Legal Intelligence', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 February 1897.

³⁷ 'Shaftesbury Training Ship', *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, 5 December 1896; p. 10.

³⁸ 'London School Board', *The Morning Post*, 5 February 1897, p. 6.

object on which to place such serious emphasis. Intriguingly, it also appears to be a semi-luxurious food, seen as too expensive for the officers to eat so regularly. Mr Dickens, representing the defence at the County Assizes, exploited these facts:

Mr. Dickens. – I think the officers sometimes had tripe? – Yes

In fact they seemed to have had a good deal of it, for in a letter here to Mr. Potter they say: “we don’t require any more tripe as we (meaning the officers) are getting tired of it” (laughter)...³⁹

Another example, this time from *The Morning Post*, records Scriven being cross-examined by Dickens. It is perhaps the Captain’s earnestness that amuses:

The 3s. per head did not pay for the luncheons, and he felt justified in charging the meat in the ordinary accounts. The officers sometimes had tripe (laughter).⁴⁰

Arguably this ‘(laughter)’ that punctuated the court proceedings, and appears often in the more detailed newspaper reports, represents a greater danger to the *Shaftesbury*’s reputation than the priced lists of furnishings that documented the 1879 re-fit. During the previous scandal, the competent management of the *Shaftesbury* by the SBL was questioned, and the ship’s name became collocated with terms – ‘luxurious’, etc. – that were to remain with it. Although there was a suggestion in the 1879 articles that Scriven and the officers had tastes above their station, the brunt of the press outrage was directed at the SBL. In 1897, however, Scriven and the officers were in the firing line and being publically shamed in the court-room. The laughter in court, and the transcripts reported in the newspapers, directly attacked the culture and personalities of the *Shaftesbury*. The officers, whose ability to perform their roles effectively depended upon the validation of certain symbolic capitals, had become comedic figures forced into the absurd position of having to publically defend how much tripe they had had for breakfast. Even the judge appears to be unable to resist humiliating the captain over the subject:

³⁹ ‘The *Shaftesbury* Training Ship Scandal’, *The Standard*, 5 February 1897, p. 4.

⁴⁰ ‘The *Shaftesbury* Training Ship Scandal’, *The Morning Post*, 5 February 1897, p. 6.

[Mr Dickens:] On the 29th July I find the boys got a little to stay their stomachs (laughter). There is 142lbs. Entered on that day, but the officers got nothing? – There is no entry.

[The Judge:] Perhaps the officers were consuming tripe all the time (laughter).

[Mr. Dickens:] They only had tripe for supper (laughter).⁴¹

One may only speculate as to the effect of such humiliation not just on the officers of the ship, but on the general reputation and functioning of an institution that depended so greatly upon the respect of hierarchy.

The implications of the ‘tripe’ scandal for the *Shaftesbury* are perhaps best explored by reviewing the array of articles published on the days following the trial. On the February 5, covering the first day of trial, we have the *Pall Mall Gazette* and the *Belfast News* discussing the ‘luxurious feeding of the officers’ and the incompetence of the captain.⁴² *The Morning Post* carries the weekly SBL report showing that a motion (by Mr. Laing) to ‘dispose’ of the *Shaftesbury* is rejected on the grounds that it would cost too much to re-home its 424 boys.⁴³ In a longer article, *The Morning Post* details the trial, and records the judge’s commentary that the clerk Tyler seemed able to ‘put down what he liked and never be found out on this happy-go-lucky ship’.⁴⁴ By far the most complete account of the trial published is one of the two *Standard*’s pieces on the trial that day. Scriven appears to become confused under the quick-fire questions prompting the judge to intervene, but not on Scriven’s side (‘I have never heard a witness give his evidence like this’).⁴⁵ The following day’s coverage was to hold worse for the SBL. Potter was acquitted. There was applause at the acquittal

⁴¹ ‘The *Shaftesbury* Training Ship Scandal’, *The Standard*, 5 February 1897, p. 4.

⁴² ‘To-Day’s Legal Intelligence’, *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 February 1897.

⁴³ ‘London School Board’, *The Morning Post*, 5 February 1897, p. 6.

⁴⁴ ‘The *Shaftesbury* Training Ship Scandal’, *The Morning Post*, 5 February 1897, p. 6.

⁴⁵ ‘The *Shaftesbury* Training Ship Scandal’, *The Standard*, 5 February 1897, p. 4.

announcement⁴⁶ and Potter was met outside the court by cheering crowds (and a handshake from Scriven).⁴⁷ There was a great deal of public sympathy for Potter. He was head of the local fire-station and his father – due to give evidence at the trial – had committed suicide the previous December out of anxiety or shame.⁴⁸ It was easy to forget that the trial had been instigated originally by Scriven and the SBL to prosecute others. The *Daily News* sounded mournful, beginning its summary with ‘The London School Board have not come well out of the case of the *Shaftesbury* Training Ship’.⁴⁹ The scandal had recharged the ship as a symbol of all that was bad about the SBL. As suggested by the court transcripts printed in the national papers, it was Scriven who was to be most seriously affected by the scandal. Unusually, the judge broke with protocol to say that the captain was ‘either dishonest or incompetent, and the log book was the worst he had ever seen’.⁵⁰ The *Standard*, which noted that Scriven may have been ‘robbing the Board’, also reported the judge’s suggestion that the SBL scuppered the trial itself by refusing to send an independent, or even qualified, accountant to review and present the ship’s books.⁵¹ Even the *Daily News* article, though in a Liberal paper often supportive of the *Shaftesbury*, finishes by suggesting that Scriven himself should be put on trial for theft.

From the close of the trial in early February until June, the press followed the SBL’s three-man inquiry team as they investigated ‘The *Shaftesbury* Scandal’.⁵² Scriven and the *Shaftesbury* are chastised in the resulting report. The accounting on board was said to have been inadequate, prompting a new style of book-keeping to be introduced across all the Board’s industrial schools. Scriven comes in for some criticism, but the report concludes that the ship was generally well

⁴⁶ ‘London, Saturday, February 6’, *The Standard*, 6 February 1897, p. 6.

⁴⁷ ‘*Shaftesbury* Training Ship’, *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, 7 February 1897.

⁴⁸ ‘The Provinces’, *The Standard*, 14 December 1896, p. 5.

⁴⁹ ‘The *Shaftesbury* Training Ship’, *Daily News*, 6 February 1897.

⁵⁰ ‘The *Shaftesbury* Training Ship’, *Daily News*, 6 February 1897.

⁵¹ ‘The *Shaftesbury* Training Ship’, *The Standard*, 6 February 1897, p. 4.

⁵² ‘The *Shaftesbury* Scandals’, *Lloyd’s Weekly Newspaper*, 11 April 1897.

managed.⁵³ The roles of clerk and storekeeper were made redundant, and would be replaced by a paymaster and store keeper 'directly responsible to the Industrial Schools Committee for the efficient discharge of his duties' using a new 'imprest' system of accounting. In addition to this loss of power over his finances, Scriven would have his salary cut by 70/. per annum.⁵⁴ *The Times'* harsh editorial following the report's release may have been comforting reading for the *Shaftesbury* officers, as it forewent the humiliating details about dinners to re-contextualise the scandal as a lesson on the dangers of committee management:

how long are London ratepayers going to stand this idiotic system of administration by amateur committeemen...[w]hat we have seen in the case of the Works Department and of the *Shaftesbury* Training-ship is going on, or may at any moment occur, over the hole vast area of municipal activity.⁵⁵

For the *Shaftesbury*, however, things would never quite be the same again.

The 1897 annual Industrial Schools Inspection Report (which suggested some industrial training ships would have to close)⁵⁶ and the cold manner in which Lord Reay noted the *Shaftesbury's* unsuitability as a ship for Naval training during his prize giving speech the following year,⁵⁷ need, perhaps, to be decoded within the context of the 'tripe scandal'. The *Shaftesbury* continued for another decade, but already paradigmatic shifts in the notion of child welfare were starting to invalidate institutions like the *Shaftesbury*. In November 1896 *The Morning Post* had published, and lent its support to, a Home Office Departmental Committee Report,⁵⁸ penned by famous prison reformer Sir Godfrey Lushington. The report called for a shake up of reformatory, industrial and truant schools in a variety of ways: banishing 'punitive' regimes and long

⁵³ *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 6 June 1897.

⁵⁴ 'The School Board For London', *Daily News*, 2 July 1897.

⁵⁵ 'The London School Board owns a training ship', *The Times*, 4 Jun 1897, p. 11.

⁵⁶ 'Reformatory and Industrial Schools', *The Standard*, 1 November 1897, p. 2.

⁵⁷ 'Training Ship *Shaftesbury*', *The Morning Post*, 13 July 1898, p. 2.

⁵⁸ 'Multiple News Items', *The Morning Post*, 20 November 1896, p. 4.

stays in truant schools, limiting detention to three years (from the age of 13) on industrial training ships, amongst other progressive recommendations.⁵⁹ The report formed part of a shift in public sentiment regarding society's duties towards children in the 1890s that eventually began the modern era of child protection legislation. As discussed in the trial section, something of this movement can be witnessed in the 1890s as NSPCC officers, rather than SBL 'beadles', began to use the *Shaftesbury* as a refuge for abused children rather than a reformatory for small-time criminals.

Section Two: Inspection and Trial

2.2.0 *Ship Shapes: Inspection Day Coverage*

From 1879, the *Shaftesbury* held an annual inspection and prize-giving day in the summer. The event raised the profile of the ship, attracting notable figures that commanded press coverage such as Lord Aberdare (1883), Lord Carlingford (1884), The Archbishop of Canterbury (1885), Sir Charles Russell (1890) and The Duke of York (1894). Although the order changed a little over the years, the key events remained largely the same. Arriving by boat, and accompanied by a smattering of high ranking SBL officials and an MP or two, the guest would observe sail and exercise drill, listen to the ship's band, and watch the manoeuvres of the ship's yacht. The boys would then be assembled together on the school deck, and prizes would be handed out for most able seaman, most popular boy, etc. Prizes often consisted of silver watches donated by well-wishers, and occasionally medals might be awarded from external bodies such as the Humane Society (for acts such as life saving by boys).⁶⁰ Finally, the guest would deliver a short speech that praised the *Shaftesbury* and often championed a particular cause dear to the SBL, captain or guest. The newspaper coverage of the inspections provides rich material for my research. As we shall see, the reports give insight into the discursive existence of the ship: a sense of the way

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ As happened at the 1884 Inspection: *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 27 July 1884.

the ship was thought about in its own time. The speeches' contents often help us plot the ship's position in the opinions of officials, politicians, and the public. The attitude, social ranking, and speeches of the guests also tell us as much about the popularity of the ship in the previous year as the statistics that Scriven revealed to the assemblages. Equally importantly, the inspection reports are an opportunity to glimpse life aboard the ship. The 'artificiality' of the show put on for the guests may keep us from glimpsing the more mundane aspects of the ship's culture, but it can also teach us much about the 'real' life on board. The training ship is, ontologically, a simulacrum: mimicking the lives of sailors, performing sail drill in the age of steam, drilling with cutlass in the age of the gun was at the heart of the ship's culture and not merely 'put on' for show. Finally, due to the absence of any surviving plans for the ship, the inspection reports offer the best descriptions of the layout, design and use of space on the *Shaftesbury*.

If attention is paid to the subject and tone of speeches given by guest dignitaries, one can sometimes hear the echoes of public, official or SBL concerns. With such a controversial start, the first years of the *Shaftesbury* inspections were low-key affairs. By 1882, however, the *Shaftesbury* was able to attract W. E. Forster, the MP most responsible for the 1870 Education Act, to give prizes. His speech is a perfect example of how guests involved themselves in the debate regarding the *Shaftesbury*:

Dwelling on the necessity for Industrial Schools, [Forster] said the *Shaftesbury* might be expensive, but he saw a good return for the money, and recommended the School Board to insist that the parents of the boys should contribute towards their support.⁶¹

A few days later, Forster found himself similarly attending the prize giving ceremony of Bradford Grammar School. It is instructive to compare the pleasant, neutral tones of his speech on that occasion with his venture into politics on the *Shaftesbury*. The following year, the educational philanthropist Lord Aberdare was less political, simply but enthusiastically praising the ship in a way perhaps inconceivable immediately after the 1879 scandal. 1884 saw Lord Carlingford, as

⁶¹ *The Standard*, 24 July 1882, p. 4.

Lord President of the Council of Education, use his speech as a platform. His message, reported in the press, was on the *in loco parentis* issue. As the law refused to give industrial schools control over boys beyond sixteen, the success of the ship as a training institution depended on the whim of parents: 'The result in such cases was often disastrous for the boys.'⁶² The suggestion, supported by Scriven, was for the SBL to be granted extended powers to stop boys being 'damaged by parents considered unworthy of the control of the children'.⁶³ An article in *Lloyd's Weekly* wryly notes that it is precisely for being out of parental control that many boys were sentenced to the *Shaftesbury*, with the suggestion that the real criminal in such cases was the parent not the child. As the trial accounts show, the *in loco parentis* issue never fully resolved, yet Carlingford's willingness not merely to attend the *Shaftesbury* inspection day but to use it to make such a speech suggests a new public confidence in the institution. The head of the SBL Industrial Schools Committee, also on board, noted that although they

had had some battles in the past about this ship... now, so far as he could test the opinion of the Board itself and the feeling throughout London, there was no part of the Board's work in which there was a deeper interest and a stronger sympathy than that which he had the honour to represent.⁶⁴

Up to 1897, the inspection day guests and speeches show us a ship unbowed by the persistent attacks by renegade Board members and conservative newspapers. The styles of support leant to the ship differ with each guest – a moral maxim from the Archbishop of Canterbury,⁶⁵ praise for its non-militaristic culture from Sir Charles Russell,⁶⁶ pleasant statistics about the ship from Sir Currie (1893)⁶⁷ – but the coverage, respecting the reputations of the 'great men'

⁶² 'Serious Charge Of Forgery', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 27 July 1884.

⁶³ 'Serious Charge Of Forgery', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 27 July 1884.

⁶⁴ 'The *Shaftesbury* Training Ship', *Daily News*, 28 July 1884.

⁶⁵ 'The Primate And The *Shaftesbury* Training Ship', *The Standard*, 20 July 1885, p. 3.

⁶⁶ 'The *Shaftesbury* Training Ship', *Daily News*, 23 July 1890.

⁶⁷ 'The Training Ship *Shaftesbury*', *The Morning Post*, 12 July 1893, p. 4.

handing out prizes, remained largely positive. Attracting the Duke of York to prize giving in 1894 was a considerable coup, with the glowing reports in twelve national papers and four large regional papers barely dimmed by the tragic death of an inmate during the preparations.

Although the inspection coverage is an opportunity to view a little of the physical culture of the ship and interpret something of the ship's significance in broader political and popular discourse, it also shows the confusion and controversy that surrounded the *Shaftesbury*. The *Standard*, in its pre-amble to the 1894 'royal' inspection report, highlights something of the ship's physical ambiguity:

The *Shaftesbury* is the old Nubia, of the Peninsular and Oriental Company, altered so as to resemble outwardly, and to some extent inwardly, a man-of-war, though her specious accommodation affords very much more scope for the various industrial and training operations carried on that would be possible in the crowded 'tween decks of a battle ship.⁶⁸

A result of the *Shaftesbury*'s half-hearted anachronism, most obviously symbolised by its faux 'wooden wall' hull decoration, is that it became a space ripe for interpretation, projection or just plain mistake. On this latter point, in 1895, for example, a journalist at the *Standard* describes the ship as a traditional wooden walled battleship.⁶⁹ Five years before Charles Russell had defended the ship on the grounds that it was the very opposite:

[Russell] was not sorry that the School Board should have failed to have obtained a vessel from the Admiralty....he did not wish to see instilled into British youths those "Jingo" ideas which were said to prevail to a great extent in Germany, and hence he preferred to see boys being brought up in a ship which had done good service in the mercantile marine.⁷⁰

Russell optimistically sees beyond the mock-wooden battleship exterior; boys were not trained, but 'brought up in a ship'. (It is worth noting here that Russell's inspection would have been rather less militaristic than those after 1894, when

⁶⁸ 'The Duke Of York At Grays', *The Standard*, 11 July 1894, p. 3.

⁶⁹ 'Lord G. Hamilton At Grays', *The Standard*, 10 July 1895, p. 5.

⁷⁰ 'The *Shaftesbury* Training Ship', *Daily News*, 23 July 1890.

'gun, cutlass, and rifle drill would be included in the general training of the boys').⁷¹ The Admiralty, of course, looking for excuses for the continued exclusion of *Shaftesbury* boys from the Royal Navy, could only ever see an iron steamer in fancy dress. As Lord Reay rather insensitively recalled in his 1898 inspection day speech: 'It had been mentioned by one of the Inspectors, the Admiral Superintendent of Naval Reserves, that the *Shaftesbury* was not so suitable for the work as an old line-of-battle ship would be...'⁷² Lord Reay's inspection day followed not only the 1896 scandal but also years of intensifying petition, rumour and debate surrounding the Royal Navy's refusal to allow *Shaftesbury* boys into the Service. The subject of petitioning the Royal Navy on the issue was raised by a number of inspection day guests in their speeches, but to little effect. The complaint that the *Shaftesbury* was not quite archaic enough to train boys for the Royal Navy may have been an expedient argument for the Admiralty, but it was one that stuck thanks to the *Shaftesbury*'s hybridity. There was certainly a case by the 1890s for training ships to train apprentices to handle contemporary steamers, and had the *Shaftesbury* been prouder of its gifts from the *Nubia* it may have been able to offer a more robust defence.

2.2.1 *The Shaftesbury in Court: From Prison to Refuge*

To begin our survey of the *Shaftesbury*'s appearances in court, we will first deal with the inevitable. Rebellion and arson were institutional certainties in the training ship world, and trials are recorded for boys attempting to set fire to, and abscond from, the ship in 1879 and 1887, respectively. The former case, Spence (13) and Silver (14), noted as 'sailor boys', were charged with attempting to set fire to the ship. Only the younger was eventually sentenced at Essex Assize: ten days imprisonment, twelve 'stripes from a birch rod' and remanded to a reformatory for three years. The boys' trial details not only occupy the trial

⁷¹ 'The Duke Of York At Grays', *The Standard*, July 1894, p. 3.

⁷² 'Training Ship *Shaftesbury*', *The Morning Post*, 13 July 1898, p. 2.

section of the local Essex⁷³ and London papers,⁷⁴ but the regional papers of the Eastern and Northern counties.⁷⁵ The 1887 story, which appears to be the more serious, was reported once in the *Standard*⁷⁶ and syndicated in *The Bury and Norwich Post*, and *Suffolk Herald*.⁷⁷ This time three boys – ages not given – appeared to terrorize the ship for five days, hiding in the ship's water barge, threatening intervening officers with a knife, trying to set fire to the ship and finally, making a desperate attempt escape. The charge was insubordination, and it was heard at the Grays Petty Sessions. The prisoners were sentenced to hard labour followed by three years in a reformatory.⁷⁸ The differences in the cases' prosecution and reception perhaps represent changes in the culture of the ship and society, or more likely the eight years experience of authority and pastoral care that Captain Scriven had under his belt by the second case. Periodically discipline issues broke out on board, but the *Shaftesbury* remained, at least as far as discipline was concerned, amongst the more well disciplined of the industrial and reformatory training ships.

So, who were the *Shaftesbury* inmates according to contemporary press reports, and what had they done to be placed aboard? Broadly, we can divide them into two cases: those who are, according to the 1866 Act, sentenced due to petty criminality and those who are sentenced for being destitute or uncared for. In the first category are Charles Baker (13) who cannot be controlled by his

⁷³ 'The Winter Assize', *The Essex Standard, West Suffolk Gazette, and Eastern Counties' Advertiser*, 1 November 1879, p. 10.

⁷⁴ 'Assize Intelligence', *Daily News*, 5 November 1879; 'Summary Of This Morning's News', *The Pall Mall Gazette*, 5 November 1879; 'Assize Intelligence', *The Morning Post*, 5 November 1879, p. 7; 'The Autumn Assizes', *The Standard*, 5 November 1879, p. 2; 'Assize Intelligence', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 9 November 1879.

⁷⁵ A list that includes: 'The Tranmere Baby Farming Convicts', *The York Herald*, 6 November 1879, p. 5; 'The Winter Assize', *The Essex Standard, West Suffolk Gazette, and Eastern Counties' Advertiser*, 8 November 1879, p. 6.

⁷⁶ 'Multiple News Items', *The Standard*, 29 January 1887, p. 3.

⁷⁷ 'Rebellious Training-Ship Boys', *The Bury and Norwich Post, and Suffolk Herald* (Bury Saint Edmunds, England), 1 February 1887, p. 3.

⁷⁸ *ibid*

mother;⁷⁹ 'Tinkler' (12) who had stolen money from his father;⁸⁰ William Allen (13), charged with being 'beyond control of his parents' and criminally obsessed with becoming a sailor;⁸¹ William Pindar (13), Edward Saunders (13) and Stephen Hewett (13) for attempted breaking and entering (sent to *Shaftesbury* until 16).⁸² From 1893, the punitive, 'criminal' feel of the cases alters. The way they are discussed in newspapers – and the details themselves – tend more towards 'rescue' narratives. Whether this is reflective of a sea-change in the role and perception of the *Shaftesbury*, or merely shows a preference for reporting these kinds of cases is uncertain. They begin with Henry Hedges who, although he stood accused of being beyond parental control by his own mother, faced appalling cruelty from both her and his father (forced to dress in a sack and being regularly beaten).⁸³ *Lloyd's Weekly* reported the case under the headline "Shocking brutality to a boy", and despite the lack of a charge the boy was taken to the *Shaftesbury*.⁸⁴ Another case is Oscar Gottheil, who, we are pointedly reminded, 'made allegations against his father' and had 'four medals from school'.⁸⁵ Thus, even though Gottheil was in court to be charged on remand for being out of parental control, we are perhaps justified in seeing the trip to the *Shaftesbury* as a journey away from a worse fate. The account of the 'generally incorrigible' John Long's family life, which included being 'ducked' in mid-winter as a correctional method, suggests that his sentence to the *Shaftesbury* was a kindness.⁸⁶ By September 1897, we find the *Shaftesbury* involved in a case of

⁷⁹ 'Multiple News Items', *The Standard*, 2 May 1879, p. 6.

⁸⁰ 'A boy named Tinkler', *The Times*, 17 Jul 1880, p. 14.

⁸¹ To the extent that he had thrown a girl into a canal and 'refused to live life on shore': 'Police Intelligence', *The Standard*, 6 August 1883, p. 2.

⁸² 'Yesterday's Law And Police', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 21 May 1893.

⁸³ 'Police Intelligence', *The Morning Post*, 23 September 1889, p. 3.

⁸⁴ 'Shocking brutality to a boy', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 29 September 1889.

⁸⁵ 'Yesterday's Law, Police, Etc', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 3 December 1893.

⁸⁶ "'Ducking" As A Kindness', *Leicester Chronicle and the Leicestershire Mercury*, 9 February 1895, p. 7.

unlawful and wilful neglect against an Edward and Catherine Denny.⁸⁷ Prosecuted on behalf of the National Society for the Protection of Children from Cruelty (1889, NSPCC), the judge sent the boy, an Arthur Cornealius, who had been forced to live in rags, to the *Shaftesbury* as he wished to be a carpenter.⁸⁸ Not only had the *Shaftesbury* become a place of refuge, but also a place that was not simply associated with a harsh mono-culture of the sea. Indeed, there are hints from other NSPCC prosecutions of neglectful parents that the *Shaftesbury* was an established place of refuge for mistreated or very poor children. The damning evidence in the case of Louisa Evans, accused of neglecting her daughter in 1900, came from her brother ensconced in the relative safety and luxury of the *Shaftesbury*; the ship a safe heaven when viewed against the harrowing testimony.⁸⁹

In both types of sentencing to the ship the issue of interventionism appears to have become a flashpoint. In its simplest and rarest form this was an objection to the *Shaftesbury* as an instrument of the state's disruption of working-class family lives and finances. An example being the case of the unnamed mother who applied to a Westminster magistrate, Mr. D'Eyncourt, in April 1887 to overturn the order for her son to be sent to an industrial school:

She said the School Board officer obtained the order in her absence, and she begged the Magistrate not to enforce it, as the boy was within four months of 14 years of age, and the boy was the only one of a family of six who could earn anything. His father was ill and unable to work. It was all her fault that the boy did not go to school, and she kept him at home to earn 5s. per week, and to mind the baby.⁹⁰

The magistrate, in any case, sent him to the *Shaftesbury*. This, however, is not a common theme in the *Shaftesbury*'s coverage. In fact it appears more common for magistrates to refuse to enact industrial school officers' requests to send boys to the *Shaftesbury* on anti-interventionist grounds. Thus Mr. Paget, famously

⁸⁷ 'Police Intelligence', *The Standard*, 13 September 1897, p. 6.

⁸⁸ 'Police', *The Times*, 13 Sep 1897, p. 13.

⁸⁹ 'Police Intelligence', *The Standard*, 3 October 1900, p. 6.

⁹⁰ 'Multiple News Items', *The Standard*, 28 April 1887, p. 2.

antagonistic to the School Board, refused to send a boy (John Macksay) caught in possession of stolen goods to the *Shaftesbury* because:

if he did so he would be saying to men who worked hard, and made all sorts of sacrifices for their families, that the boy would be better educated than their own children...He refused to send the Prisoner to an Industrial School, and committed him for fourteen days with hard labour.⁹¹

The SBL was aware of this issue and had petitioned to Home Office in 1879 for a solution to magistrates who were overruling and countermanding its bye-law enforcement and ignoring the suggestions of its industrial school officers.⁹² Reactionary findings continued however, as did the commentary and critique. In 1899, for example, the Thames Police court magistrate announced that

he often had lads before him charged with stealing, who said they did so to get on the *Shaftesbury* training-ship. In this case he was not going to gratify the boy and save the father's pockets at the expense of the ratepayers. He added that if Magistrates had the power to order the birch there would be very little truancy.⁹³

The reactionary magistrates were not lone voices in the wilderness, but represented a popular position that opposed the *Shaftesbury* extending the kind of education prized by the rate-paying lower middle classes to the 'unworthy poor'. It was a theme that attracted the support of many within the Court of the Common Council of London,⁹⁴ as well as those members of the SBL – discussed in Section 1.1.1. – who seemed intent on destroying it from within. In contrast, cases such as that of Thomas Seymour, an army pensioner, who was sentenced to a month in Holloway prison for avoiding arrears on his son's *Shaftesbury* contributions, show that the industrial schools officers were also committed to working with magistrates to get value for money for ratepayers. The officer in question (Mr Lawrence) had researched the family and prosecuted the case well, arguing that the only impediment to payment was parental drunkenness.⁹⁵

⁹¹ 'Multiple News Items', *The Standard*, 23 September 1881, p. 2.

⁹² 'Multiple News Items', *The Standard*, 13 November 1879, p. 4.

⁹³ 'London, Tuesday, April 4', *The Standard*, 4 April 1899, p. 4.

⁹⁴ 'The Court Of Common Council', *The Times*, 1 Feb 1884, p. 6.

⁹⁵ 'Police Intelligence', *The Morning Post*, 22 February 1881, p. 7.

Meanwhile, as shown by the coverage of the annual SBL report of 1895 published in the *Times*, attempts continued to convince the Home Office not only to help enforce a 'uniformity in the decisions of the magistrates' but also facilitate 'the appointment of a special magistrate for School Board cases'.⁹⁶ Despite the School Board's best efforts, the request fell on deaf ears. Tensions remained.

Another relatively common category in the trial accounts is the post-*Shaftesbury* boy in unfortunate circumstances. They offer considerable insight into the ship's effectiveness and after-care. The former is highlighted in the case of Arthur Cattermole (17) who, after three years on the ship was still suffering such violent rages that he was sent for two months hard labour for savagely beating his younger brother and sister. He 'spent his time principally out of doors, but every Sunday he created a disturbance in the house and assaulted them all'. The magistrate warned that the next sentence would be longer. It seemed one was expected.⁹⁷ The story made the *Illustrated Police News* and *Lloyds Weekly*⁹⁸ as well as *The Morning Post*.⁹⁹ The blows that Elizabeth Cattermole received every Sunday violently illustrate failings in the *Shaftesbury*'s ability to reform its boys' behaviour. There are also cases where the ship not only seems to fail to reform boys but also fail to send willing boys to sea. In 1886 a boy, 'Marshall', was charged with sleeping rough and having no visible means of sustenance, inquiries with the boy led the Mendicity Officer to discover that although he had been on the *Shaftesbury*, he was unable to go to sea.¹⁰⁰ In a decidedly Dickensian twist, the boy was discovered to be a ward of Chancery and kept in a miserable condition by guardians spiteful about his pending inheritance. Arrangements were eventually made for him to go to sea, principally through the common humanity of the court agents. This case and others make

⁹⁶ 'London School Board Annual Report', *The Times*, 23 Dec 1895, p. 7.

⁹⁷ 'Police Intelligence', *The Morning Post*, 30 January 1883, p. 6.

⁹⁸ 'News', *The Illustrated Police News*, 3 February 1883.

⁹⁹ 'Police Intelligence', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 4 February 1883.

¹⁰⁰ 'Multiple News Items', *The Standard*, 15 October 1886, p. 2.

one sceptical of the *Shaftesbury's* ability to extend its *in loco parentis* powers productively beyond disembarkation. Although Scriven boasted of his continued relationships with 'old boys', the support appears only to extend to its ship agent and some under-used facilities for overnight stays in Cardiff.¹⁰¹

This issue is most graphically illustrated by the case of James Orton, 'from the training ship *Shaftesbury*, at Grays, Essex, a fishing apprentice to the Grimsby and North Sea Steam Trawling Company' who was in the dock charged with disobeying the order to go to sea.¹⁰² In fact the boy was 'ruptured' (had a hernia) and, according to a witness, was in that state when he was indentured out by the *Shaftesbury*. The officials fortunately showed leniency, although the prosecuting company was reluctant to cancel the indenture on the magistrate's advice, and suggested the boy be 'sent to gaol for a short time'. Alarming, the article this news appears in is titled 'Another Grimsby apprentice case'. Indeed, a piece on the same page has the Grimsby Board of Guardians suggesting, ominously, that 'the Board refute all the charges that have been brought against them with respect to fishing apprentices; that the charges have been exaggerated'. The failure of the uptake of boys into the Navy, and the relatively small percentage of boys going to sea in any capacity, had meant that, as *The Times* reported in 1892, the *Shaftesbury* had applied for relevant clothing to equip their boys to join fishing smacks.¹⁰³ Whether the boy showed symptoms of a hernia before his indenture cannot be known, but the *Shaftesbury's* officers certainly could not plead ignorance to the developing scandal in Grimsby, as the news was carried by at least one national paper. Sadly, many of the trial cases suggest that the inmates were cast from the ship and given little support in the harsh and seedy world of the commercial marine. In July 1895 the *Cheshire Observer* (alone) carried the case of Frank Hatton (16) formerly of the *Shaftesbury* who had tried to hang himself after being 'ill used' by his shipmates and throttled by his captain

¹⁰¹ The ship agents are paid well, the advertisement in *The Times* in July 1888 promises one pound per boy for found berths and a uniform for the shipping agent: 'Colleges, Public Schools, & c', *The Times*, 25 Jul 1888, p. 3.

¹⁰² 'Grimsby Fishing Apprentices', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 16 September 1894.

¹⁰³ 'The London School Board', *The Times*, 25 Jun 1892, p. 19.

on the vessel he was indentured to in Ellesmere Port.¹⁰⁴ In the end Hatton returned to the ship, and no doubt to more trouble. Even after the *Shaftesbury* had become re-imagined as a place of refuge, the institution was failing a small proportion of its boys dramatically.

The level of responsibility that the *Shaftesbury* staff had for the boys still on board also caused considerable consternation on and off the ship. Many, including Scriven, had suggested that the state ought to grant the officers of the *Shaftesbury* full *in loco parentis* powers over the inmates. As discussed above, in 1884 Lord Carlingford used his inspection day speech to publicise the issue:

[Lord Carlingford] urged that the naval instruction given to the boys on the ship should not be lost, as in too many cases it was, in consequence of the boys being claimed by their parents. His lordship thought that as the School Board had had to maintain the position of parent to the boys for many years, it should have the power given it of maintaining its right a little longer, sufficient to make the rescue of the children complete. The question as to the parental rights and duties arose at an earlier stage of the children's careers, and that stage was when it was proposed to remove the children from the influence of the parents.¹⁰⁵

In 1893 and 1896, however, the *Shaftesbury's* reputation with regard to this topic was damaged by news stories about inmates being 'sold' into the army against parental, or the boys' own, wishes. The first case involved George Kine who had been sentenced to the *Shaftesbury* at the Stratford Petty Sessions for truancy. After a year aboard, a thirteen-year old Kine was apparently 'entrapped' into the band of the 1st Royal Warwickshire against his and his family's wishes. It emerged, to public outrage, that the *Shaftesbury* bandmaster received a commission (10s.) for every boy placed in a military or naval band. The issue eventually found its way to the House of Commons chamber. Home Secretary Asquith, despite suggesting that the rules around bandmaster commission

¹⁰⁴ 'Alleged Attempted Suicide', *Cheshire Observer*, 13 July 1895, p. 9.

¹⁰⁵ 'The *Shaftesbury* Training Ship', *The Star*, 31 July 1884; see also: 'Serious Charge Of Forger', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 27 July 1884; 'The *Shaftesbury* Training Ship'; *The Times*, 28 Jul 1884; 'The *Shaftesbury* Training Ship', *Daily News*, 28 July 1884.

should be 'modified', offered a defence of the extended *in loco parentis* powers based on existing legislation:

the managers of a certified reformatory or industrial school may in the case of an offender or child detained therein, with his own consent, dispose of him in any trade, calling, or service and such disposition shall be as valid as if the managers were his parents...The Act contains no reference to the age at which an offender may give his own consent, nor does it require the presence of the parents. In my opinion it should not be put in force in the case of children of tender age.¹⁰⁶

Army and navy bands were one of the most respectable outcomes for inmates, and one of the few outcomes that appeased critics of the ship's inability to send more boys to sea. Fortunately for Scriven, the petitioning was successful and an 1895 Act amendment meant that industrial schools could take responsibility for inmates – whether residing in the institution or not – up till the age of 18.¹⁰⁷ The legislation was not the end of parental or public outrage, however. Another case appears in the papers in 1896, brought by a woman whose son was enlisted in the army against her wishes.¹⁰⁸ The case was heard at the Thames Police Court. Despite urging the *Shaftesbury* to pay 'some consideration' to parental feelings, particularly when the parents were 'respectable', the magistrate could do little. The SBL Industrial School officer sent to defend the ship was unsentimental and unbowed. The full exchange appeared in an article titled 'The complaint about the *Shaftesbury*' in *Lloyd's Weekly*, with a paragraph synopsis in *Reynolds's Newspaper*.¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

From perspectives public and professional – social, cultural, or institutional – the *Shaftesbury* is an incongruous entity in the narratives above. It is, all at once,

¹⁰⁶ 'House Of Commons', *The Times*, 20 Sep 1893, p. 6.

¹⁰⁷ Robert Spence Watson, *Industrial Schools* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Ragged and Industrial Schools Press, 1867), p. 274.

¹⁰⁸ 'Police Intelligence', *The Standard*, 30 November 1896, p. 3.

¹⁰⁹ 'Yesterday's Police Cases', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 6 December 1896.

a 'luxurious' training ship, a safe-house that sells its inmates into the army, and an iron-hulled wooden-wall. The Admiralty, offended by the *Shaftesbury's* hybridity, were perhaps its most honest critic. The ship, in the Royal Navy's eyes, had mistaken sailors' education to be something that took place *on* a ship rather than *through* a ship. The Admiralty was not concerned with practicalities – as already mentioned above, wooden-walls were no preparation for the modern Royal Navy – but with an almost mystical commitment to institutional *habitus* which had constituted the 'rites of passage' to sea for at least three hundred years. The fateful inspector's report of 1898, which suggested that the *Shaftesbury* was simply not archaic enough to effectively train boys for the navy, demands to be seen as a final, official utterance of this position. Other training ships clearly looked down upon the *Shaftesbury* with regard to its financial scandals,¹¹⁰ but there is no evidence as to whether the Admiralty's fundamentalist view on ship design was felt amongst the industrial school ships in the rest of the country. What we do know, however, is that the captain was not sentimental about the effects of cramped wooden decks on sailing trainees. As Benson notes, when asked in 1902 by an Australian commission to describe the best variety of training vessel, Scriven favoured land-based schools: they had more space, less chance of disease, and access to more modern training on steam ships.¹¹¹ The *Shaftesbury's* conceptual dissonance extended, then, to its captain's quarters; where Scriven would do away even with the high-ceilinged decks of his own ship, never mind the damp old hulks idolized by the Admiralty. It is difficult not to imagine that the physical ambiguity of the ship in the public gaze in some way stems from a deep-seated conceptual discordance.

Beginning with the 'Rug Scandal', the 'vexed question'¹¹² of the *Shaftesbury* in the press mirrors the Admiralty's mistrust of the pedagogical and transformative functionality of the ship's progressivism and modernity. In an extended article

¹¹⁰The finance officer of the *Arethusa* and *Chichester* charity ships, for example, writes to distance them from the *Shaftesbury*: 'Letters To The Editor', *The Star*, 10 December 1896.

¹¹¹ Benson, p. 147.

¹¹² 'Special Sunday Morning Edition', *Reynolds's Newspaper*, 15 March 1885.

on the first inspection, the *Daily News* justified its coverage by remarking that '[a] ship so thoroughly discussed from every aesthetic and economic point of view as the *Shaftesbury*, is naturally a centre of interest, and perhaps of curiosity'.¹¹³ Reading the newspaper broadsides aimed at the SBL in the scandal's wake, and pondering the decisions about the creation of the ship that led to the scandal, one finds everywhere the merging of aesthetic, social and political concerns. The press obsession with the 'luxury' items of the ship brings to mind the work of Bourdieu¹¹⁴ on the social positionality of taste as it applies to routine domestic objects and practices. The aesthetic that the press seems to wish upon the *Shaftesbury* is based exclusively on the utile, simple, inexpensive. As mentioned in chapter one, industrial training ships facilitated rites of passage on behalf of the societies they served. An aesthetic of utility played its part in this ritual. On one hand, it was natural to the environment of the ship, and rewarded the sailor with an economic and cultural identity; on the other, the asceticism was that of the seminary or reformatory, 'disciplining' the inmates (*qua* Foucault) into an approved social identity. The objects of offense in the press appear to break with the established aesthetic of the traditional industrial or reformatory training ship, leading to fears, variously expressed, that the functionality of the ship is also compromised. A little more candid than the conservative papers, although expressing similar sentiments, the periodical *Moonshine* notes that although the ship was set up to

induce naughty boys to grow up sailors. The vessel was furnished at considerable cost with harmonium, piano, and orchestra complete, in order to 'humanise' the little dears. But unfortunately, the more they have become 'humanised', the more they do not want to go to sea, and, as a nautical nursery, the *Shaftesbury* is a decided frost.¹¹⁵

In *Moonshine's* vision, the 'humanizing' objects found on the *Shaftesbury* not only threaten the economic function of the ship (to produce sailors) but also invert its social function by infantilizing the 'naughty' boys in a parody of middle-class

¹¹³ 'The Training Ship Shaftesbury', *Daily News*, 30 July 1879.

¹¹⁴ Bourdieu, *Distinction*.

¹¹⁵ 'Lord Randolph Churchill Asks For A Holiday At Easter, And He Deserves One', *Moonshine*, 26 March 1881, p. 146.

childrearing. Throughout the *Shaftesbury's* life a great deal of comment and reportage in the press was dedicated to the ship's failure to send more of its boys to sea. In reality this was a complex issue, and depended upon the *Shaftesbury* being able to successfully negotiate, amongst other things, greater *in loco parentis* powers from the state and greater access for its boys into the Royal Navy.¹¹⁶ Yet, as *Moonshine* graphically displays, time and time again the failure was linked to the fabric and furnishings of the ship.

The narratives presented above offer an invaluable key to understanding the public significance of aspects of the ship's material and immaterial culture. They show a ship whose material existence was constantly interpreted and defined by external interests. The power of these external interpretations caused problems for the *Shaftesbury* in terms of funding and reputation but they also must have had an effect on everyday life aboard. One imagines, for example, breakfast tripe was ordered and eaten (if at all) with a greater solemnity from 1897 than it had ever been before. Despite this, the evidence from the coverage of the *Shaftesbury's* inspection days and trials show a ship with confidence in its own functionality. The *Shaftesbury* had 'a place' within the interconnected provision of the SBL that meant it was able, despite all the lampooning and criticism, to still aggressively promote and defend its own status.

¹¹⁶ These are both things that guest speakers at Inspection Days raise in their speeches, complementing the pressure Scriven was trying to bring behind the scenes.

Chapter Three: Space, Culture, and ‘Luxuries’

Introduction: Reading the *Shaftesbury*’s Spaces

Like many industrial and reformatory training ships, the *Shaftesbury* was not built from scratch but was the product of a re-fit. It was usual for any organization wishing to set up a ‘charity’ training ship to be ‘loaned’ an old wooden vessel from the Admiralty. Although this was applied for, the Admiralty appeared to be short of vessels and despite the intercession of the Board and the Home Office, the loan was denied.¹ Almost immediately, the SMC appears to have found and agreed an offer for a retiring P&O steamer, *SS Nubia*. The fragmentary early ‘diary’ of the SMC make it difficult to assess whether other options were considered, and why the decision to buy a ship so very different to the ‘wooden-wall’ it had requested from the Admiralty was taken. The report of the investigation into the scandalous overspend on the refit, and its subsequent coverage in the press, discussed at length in chapter two, suggested that the decision was the first in a long line of mistakes which shaped the ship. The first popular narrative about the institution was that it was poorly planned and designed solely with regard to a luxurious, or ‘feminine’, aesthetic. This story reappeared so consistently that it threatens to dominate historical perspectives on the ship as much as it blighted contemporary understanding of it.

In fact, the *Shaftesbury*’s furnishings and apparatus were not the subject of expensive or ill-informed whim, but the product of considered planning and expert advice. On occasions the planning was driven by expediency or economy, but no less so than any other of the SBL’s institutions. There is considerable evidence for early general planning. On the second page of the SMC Minutes we find that the

Chairman [Thomas Scrutton] requested to have plans prepared of the various decks, and to bring up a proposition for warming the ship by hot water; also for cooking and washing apparatus. Further...that plans be submitted and tenders taken for the construction of an awning deck,

¹ London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), School Board for London Collection (SBL), LMA/SBL/0363-2, 26 June 1877.

extending the whole length of the vessel, to be at least 8ft 6 inches from deck to deck.²

Contemporary accusations of early mismanagement often took the form of *ad hominem* attacks against Scrutton, a tradition local historian Peter Benson has brought to historical perspectives on the ship.³ Whilst the SMC Minutes reveal Scrutton as a little over overbearing, his concerns are thoughtfully practical rather than superficial. His commitment to preserving the *Nubia*'s considerable deck head-height, for example, conformed to the tenets of SBL school construction, and strongly hints at the involvement of the Board's architectural department. It made the decks, by the standards of training ships, exceptionally light, well ventilated and spacious. The administrative status of the ship meant that Scrutton was under the watchful eye of both the Home Office and various offices at the SBL, and most major design issues were subject to Industrial School Committee or Industrial and Reformatory School Inspectorate approval and advice. Scriven, as we shall discuss below, was appointed to his role early in order to research and advise on suitable fittings. Likewise the materiality of the *Shaftesbury*'s pedagogical spaces was not, as portrayed in critical press coverage, contaminated by the luxuries found in the captain's quarters. Rather, they were influenced by aspects of the most current philosophy of education, and furnished with apparatus common in shore-based Board schools.

The aim of this chapter is to present an account of the type and function of material space aboard the *Shaftesbury* during my research period. It contains the only 'walk-through' deck-by-deck description of the *Shaftesbury*, and constitutes one of the very few attempts to outline use of space in either reformatory or industrial training ships. In part, the ship has been so 'mapped' to aid discussions in the chapters to follow. Analysis of space and spatial practices, however, also offer unique perspectives on the social and cultural history of the ship. Exploring the use of space reveals much about the everyday life of the ship, both in the planned spatial zones (such as on the School Deck) and in the areas where

² LMA/SBL/SBL/0363-4, 16 October 1877.

³ Benson, *Where the bad boys go*.

inmates were likely to have had found a degree of privacy (such as the rigging). The 'walk through' complicates notions of industrial schools ships as simple, 'barrack-like' institutions by showing the variety and heterogeneity of spatial culture on the ship. Viewed over time, furthermore, changes to the ship's spatial practices, such as the expansion of sleeping provision, fundamentally altered the lived culture of the ship: affecting such things as the health of inmates and their access to private keepsakes and clothes. Since Foucault, institutional space and spatial practice have been viewed as primary technologies of power. Whilst there is evidence of Donald's 'hidden curriculum' of school design on the School Deck, spatial analysis also highlights far more localised, informal and transient interrelations between power and materiality.⁴ More recently, the work of Hamlett and Preston, amongst others, have extended and complicated the relationship between institutions and material space, by focusing on inmate agency.⁵ Although the source material does not allow direct access to inmate perceptions of space, cultures of space highlight differentiation in status and agency between inmates. The ship's Band Room and Galley, for example, housed distinct subcultures of inmates. Similarly, changes in the use of space appear to document internal power struggles between the Captain and the management of the ship. As Lang's 'Ballad of the (School-Board) Fleet' shows, contemporary critiques often imagined the ship as materially corrupted or compromised by the influence of female management. A further benefit of the readings of the ship's spatial and material culture in this chapter is that it allows for a more considered discussion of the extent and meaning of the ship's 'luxurious' aesthetic, as will be attempted in the conclusion of this chapter.

What follows is literally a 'reading' of the *Shaftesbury's* space: in the absence of plans I have had to collate, infer, piece together, and read between the lines of primary sources to piece together deck-by-deck accounts. Inevitably, some areas

⁴ Donald, p. 44.

⁵ Jane Hamlett and Rebecca Preston, 'A Veritable Palace for the Hard-Working Labourer?' Space, Material Culture and Inmate Experience in London's Rowton Houses, 1892-1918 in J. Hamlett, L. Hoskins and R. Preston *Residential Institutions in Britain, 1725-1970* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2013), pp. 93-108.

are under-represented in the surviving records, or spaces are named and discussed in multiple ways. Many of the most significant aspects of space on the ship are the result of change in function over time. I have stayed within my 1878-98 research period when considering these changes, and the photographs that follow which are from a later date (1903) show no significant differences to the *Shaftesbury* during that timeframe.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first deals with the ‘public’ aspects of the ship. It moves from the external appearance of the ship to the School Deck that, amongst other public duties, housed the SBL Committee Rooms. The second section is devoted to the more ‘private’ decks; those designed more with utility in mind. The division, as will become clear, is not absolute. The Sleeping Deck (up until the mid 1880s), and the Stoker’s Room (from the early 1890s), provide examples of nominally private areas which were seen as capable of publically representing the ship’s modernity. The sections move from the outside in, from the upper decks to the lower, and from the aft to the fore of the ship.

As the examples of the *Mars* in Dundee and the *Exmouth* berthed beside the *Shaftesbury* show, it was common for ‘charity’ training ships to hold permanent land ashore. Although these extra spaces were often designated for a particular use – carpentry shops in the case of the *Mars*, playing fields in the case of the *Exmouth* – they became in practice overflows for a variety of activities. During my research period, the *Shaftesbury* occupied three distinct spaces on the nearby shore. Aside from the Wharf and public spaces ‘shared’ with the *Exmouth*, these were the two (successive) infirmary cottages in Grays’ town, and a grass covered field – the West Field – that housed a swimming pool in addition to being used for drill and sports activities. There was also a ‘tender’ or practice ship capable of being sailed by around eighty inmates, and numerous rowing boats used for both daily commuting to the shore and competitive rowing practice. These additional spaces remain outside the remit of this chapter, although the infirmary and tender appear in subsequent chapters.

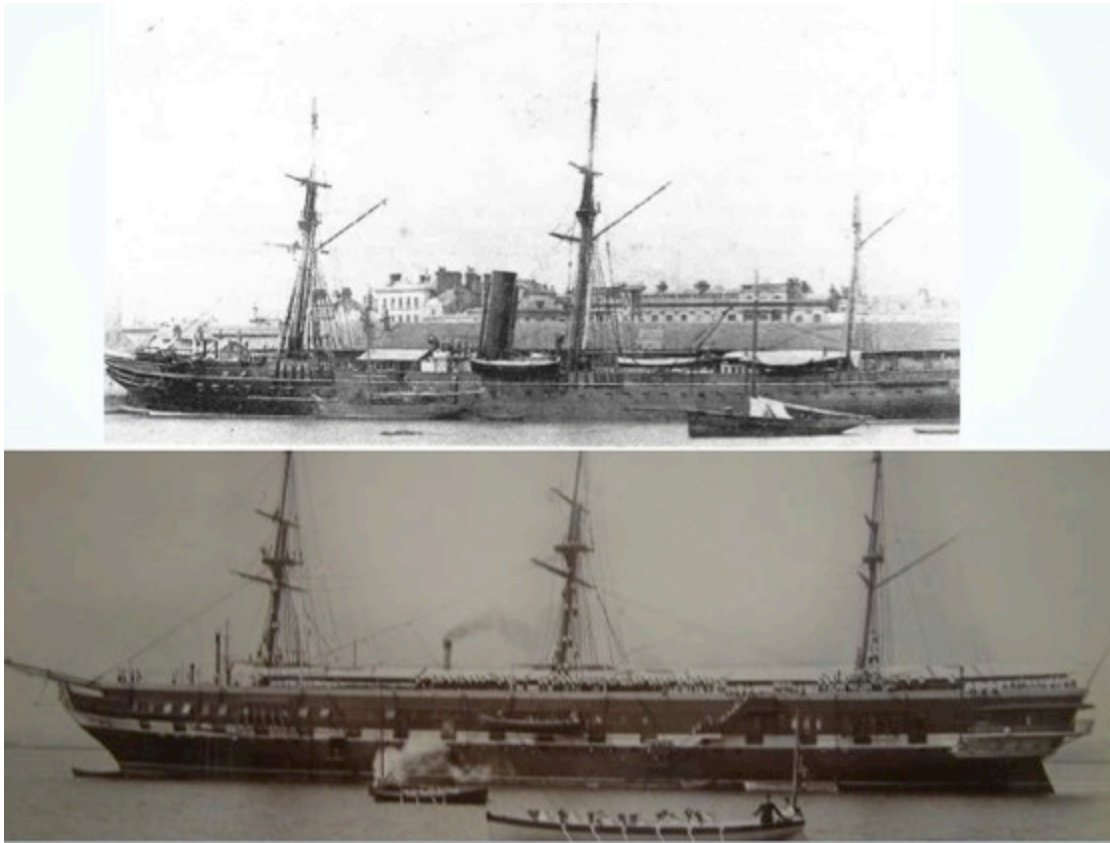


Figure 3: The *Nubia* (circa 1860)⁶ and the *Shaftesbury* (1903)⁷.

⁶ Image from P&O Archive Factsheet: 94030NUBIA-1854.

⁷ From the James Hugill Collection of photographs held at Thurrock Museum. Most probably taken by Henry Irving during his studies for Philpott's *London At School*, and subsequently used on a variety of postcards and tickets issued by the Ship.

Section One: The *Shaftesbury*'s Public Spaces

3.1.0 From the *Nubia* to the *Shaftesbury* – Structural Change

The *Nubia* is listed in the P&O archives as being launched in 1854 as a passenger liner, built by John Laird, Sons & Co. at Birkenhead.⁸ As Benson has stated, the *Nubia* suffered a number of mishaps, during its working life ferrying passengers and cargo across the world. The *Nubia* broke speed records, was requisitioned for transport in the Crimean War, transported the English cricket team to Australia but along the way suffered mechanical failures, a variety of shaft failures and severe 'ravages of white ants'. This latter damage, perhaps surprisingly for an iron ship, was considerable enough for a plan to be raised in 1864 to build the ship a new hull, keeping only the existing engines and boilers. Whilst the plan was eventually abandoned later that year, it seems possible that some level of permanent damage to the structural fabric of the ship may have remained from a situation that prompted such a radical suggestion and may be an unstated reason for the expense of the refit. The relative cheapness of the *Exmouth*, a purpose built iron charity ship run by the Metropolitan Asylums Board, launched just a few years before suggest that iron hulls were not innately expensive. Aside from the costs involved, Scrutton's decision was sound. Save from minor issues – such as leaky decks – the *Shaftesbury* remained a remarkably reliable *hulk*. It was never, however, a viable *ship*. The *Shaftesbury*'s experience during heavy storms in 1881 illustrates the vulnerability of the frame underneath the façade. Even though bolted to the river-bed, the ship listed heavily and the order was given to abandon ship. The *Shaftesbury* had to be towed to Greenhithe for weeks of restoration.⁹ In both its pre- and post-storm moorings, the ship sat in a dredged hole on the river-bed secured by immense anchor chains. Moving or mooring the ship was a precarious and dangerous job for a number of tugs.

⁸ This and the information that follows are taken from the P&O Archive Factsheet: 94030NUBIA-1854.

⁹ Although Scriven proudly notes that the Ship did not take in 'a drop of water', it was leaning 'to starboard 35 degrees with water above the sleeping deck scuttles'. Full evacuation of the ship took 'under seven minutes', an impressive feat. LMA/SBL/0364-31, January 1881.



Figure 4: The Cornwall Reformatory Ship, Purfleet (c. 1890).¹⁰

Without the availability plans, viewing the pictures of the *Shaftesbury* and *Nubia* together help us to view the externally visible changes to the ship. As Figure 3 shows, the *Shaftesbury* was deliberately altered to look like an older wooden ship. During the refit an extra deck was fitted on top of the existing upper deck, an alteration that made the *Shaftesbury* sit more proudly in the water. So high, in fact, that, minus the *Nubia*'s cargo, passengers and steam machinery, the *Shaftesbury* had to have almost a thousand tons of concrete poured into its hold to keep it from capsizing.¹¹ Apart from the stern galley, one of the most costly alterations made to the ship, the *Shaftesbury*'s old-fashioned façade involved little structural change. The alterations appear to have contributed to an increase in length of between 10-40ft,¹² although cosmetic

¹⁰ Phil Carradice, *Nautical Training Ships: An illustrated history*. (Stroud: Amberley Publishing, 2009).

¹¹ The cost of cementing the ballast was £1200, a substantial percentage of the overall cost of the refit.

¹² In P&O's archives, the *Nubia* is listed with a length of 289.3ft, a *beam* (or breadth) of 38.0ft and a depth of 27.4ft. This is likely to be a measurement of *Overall Length* (OL), i.e. the most distance points parallel to the waterline. Unfortunately there is considerable variance in accounts of the *Shaftesbury*'s

changes made by paint, changes to rigging and the reduction of funnelling are responsible for much of the dramatic differences between the 'ships'. The strong horizontal line of the white paint against the dark background, for example, was suggestive of the line of *wales* in the *Shaftesbury's* side.



Figure 5: The *Clio* Industrial School Ship, Menai Straits (c.1895)¹³

These alterations to external appearance were not purely decorative. The relationship between function and decoration was complex for all the training ships contemporary with the *Shaftesbury*. They were institutions charged with providing immersive training for sea whilst maintaining a stationary near-shore existence. To the modern eye, there is evidence of tensions between these co-realities in the close-up images of the ships. In *Figure 4*, for example, we see clearly the elaborate safety netting and permanent securing chains of the

length – between 300ft and 330ft – making direct comparison difficult. It is likely that the larger measurement admitted the *bowsprit*. There was no significant increase in the *Shaftesbury's beam* (breadth).

¹³ Caernarvon Record Office, Gwynedd Archives: XS/1077/5/5/14.

reformatory training ship *Cornwall* that suggest the boys sitting aloft are in fact playing upon a giant model of a ship. In *Figure 5* we see how un-seaworthy the industrial training ship *Clio* looked from the waterline with its permanent *accommodation ladder*. The fixed accommodation ladder and open hatches were not signs of the ship in port, but permanent open borders between the ship and the land. The *Shaftesbury* shared these and other ambivalent elements with the *Cornwall* and *Clio*.¹⁴ A detail from Henry Irving's photograph of the *Shaftesbury* in *Figure 6*, with racing rowing boats and jubilant crew, shows that the ambiguities of the training ship was not something felt in need of resolving or hiding from a contemporary audience: the permanent accommodation ladder, for example, being on display. In fact, just visible, at the bottom of the white stripe mid-ship, is the 'porch' that Scriven had asked to be erected in 1884, from 'outside the gangway door on the ladder leading to the main entrance of the Ship'.¹⁵ Not only was the *accommodation ladder* permanent, but it was also treated to a homely makeover. Evidently, although the alterations to the ship's façade were carefully made to suggest an older 'wooden-wall', the intention was to create a themed experience rather than verisimilitude. The visual tropes were not designed to fool the public, but rather to aid their imaginations.

¹⁴ Although the safety or 'life' net wasn't introduced until the 1890s on the *Shaftesbury*: LMA/SBL/0365-200, 20 June 1893.

¹⁵ 11th March 1884, LMA/SBL/0365-195, 11 March 1884.

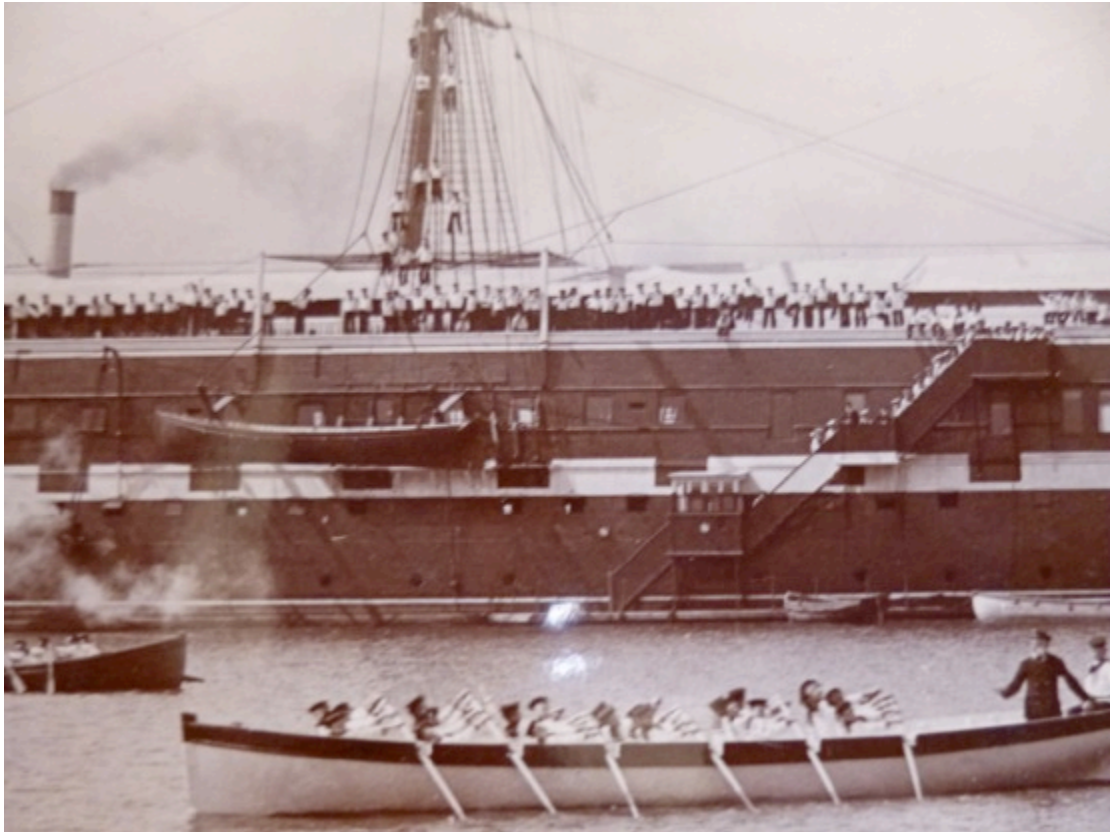


Figure 6: Detail from Irving's study of the *Shaftesbury* (1903)¹⁶

3.1.1 *The Awning Deck*

The upper deck of the *Shaftesbury*, added during the refit, was known as the *Awning Deck*. Most typically in maritime parlance 'awning deck' refers to a lightweight deck that does not cover the full length of the upper deck. Behind the unusual nomenclature was an attempt to bring down the cost of the extra deck by employing less costly building methods. This was why, by August 1880, Captain Scriven had to place an order for 12 'iron tubular pillars...for the purpose of securing the safety' of the section of the Awning Deck above the Committee Room.¹⁷ The request suggests that drill and gymnastic practice on the Awning Deck was heard and felt not just by SMC members in their room, but also by inmates in the School and Class Rooms on the same deck. R&H Green won the

¹⁶ Enlarged section of Figure 3.

¹⁷ From the issues raised in the account, LMA/SBL/0364-260, April 1882,

tender to construct the deck from yellow pine, available cheaply from Canada during the period, and commonly used for floor decking material on ships since the early nineteenth century.¹⁸ There is evidence that the floors on most decks were made of the same material, and possibly the walls of the School Deck as well. The log books show large orders – hundreds of feet of pre-cut boards in the wood – at regular intervals, above the level required for occasional maintenance of the upper deck.¹⁹ The amount of wood on ship necessitated live-aboard carpenters until the early 1890s (up until October 1889 there were both a Head- and Assistant Carpenters on board, subsequently the roles were merged)²⁰ as well as occasional requests external carpenters for periods of weeks at a time. On the Awning Deck the presence of wood was a practical issue: it was not only kinder to the boys' bare feet than the underlying iron,²¹ but was itself instrumental in training for sea. Pictures of boys 'scrubbing the deck' survive, as in *Figure 7*, and the patina of the boards was evidence of a daily ritual common to all training vessels.

¹⁸ For a discussion of this see the evidence of Ship builder Brodie A McGhie, *First report of the select committee appointed to consider the means of improving and maintaining the foreign trade of the country, 1821* in House of Lords Session Papers 1801-33, 183 (1825), p36.

¹⁹ LMA/SBL/0365-265 21 October 1884 for example: a typical order for '500 ft. 11/2 in yellow pine...500 ft. 1-in ditto...300 ft. 3/4 ditto...300ft. 1/2-in ditto...200 ft. 1/4 -in ditto'.

²⁰ LMA/SBL/0367-206, 22 October 1889.

²¹ As shown in *Figure 7* below, the boys were very often barefoot even in inclement weather. This was standard practice on reformatory and industrial training ships. As well as reducing cobbler costs, it was believed to make escape more unappealing.



Figure 7: Scrubbing the deck (c.1895)²²

As the *Daily News*²³ and *Illustrated London News*²⁴ remind us, the upper deck carried expensive apparatus, including three fifty-ton water tanks. The *Daily News* positions these tanks – ‘one for flushing the decks, &c., one for the lavatory, and one for drinking purposes’ – towards the bow of the deck.²⁵ Until the arrival of electric lighting, the Awning Deck also housed two ‘Alpha’ gas machines, ‘enclosed in an iron house,’ that supplied the ship’s gas lighting system.²⁶ These were state-of-the-art when purchased, and were marketed to board schools as providing brilliant lighting for areas where coal gas was unattainable.²⁷ In *Figure 8* metal ventilation cowls and smoke funnels can also be glimpsed, although the Awning Deck was not a space that advertised its functionality or made a feature

²² From ‘Snap-Shots of TS Shaftesbury By Dr R. C. Male and Dr Snell’, C. 1895: Thurrock Museum Collection, Grays, Essex.

²³ *Daily News*, 25 March 1879.

²⁴ *Illustrated London News*, 14 December 1878.

²⁵ *Daily News*, 25 March 1879

²⁶ *Daily News*, 25 March 1879

²⁷ See below.

of its mechanical hardware. The Awning Deck's apparatus were positioned with a 'pre-steam' aesthetic in mind, the funnels and winches from the *Nubia* had been ripped out and sold, and nothing was risked that would sit uneasily with the ship's new façade. As *Figures 9 and 10* illustrate, the aesthetic is clean planes and lines, simple structures and fittings, with wood softening the ship's metal. This appearance was something that needed work to achieve on an old iron hulk dotted with necessary engineering equipment. For the first eleven years, the Awning Deck's huge water tanks were 'encased in wood and decked over'.²⁸ Clearly it was felt that the extent of this cover up had hindered access, as, when new tanks were fitted in 1889 it was instead decided to 'stand them in an open framework, with moveable gratings on the top, so as to paint them when necessary'.²⁹ The tanks still remained hidden behind 100ft of American Elm and three hundredweight of painted lead.³⁰ One of the largest and most regular commitments to maintaining the ship's façade was the disguising of the metal foremast and mainmast³¹ – the mizzen mast was wooden - with orders regularly placed for ten imperial hundredweights of 'mast colour' paint.³² Ironically, the deck's aesthetic was aided by technological innovations such as the switch to electric lighting – which moved the generators from the Awning Deck to the Hold – and the replacement of a water barge with a discrete water pipe.³³ The façade, of course, was designed to aid imagination of those viewing the ship from the outside: *Figure 11* shows iron riveted near-sides that framed the horizon for boys gazing out to shore.

²⁸ LMA/SBL/0367-126, 26 March 1889.

²⁹ LMA/SBL/0367-126, 26 March 1889.

³⁰ LMA/SBL/0367-126, 26 March 1889.

³¹ LMA/SBL/0367-228, 3 December 1889.

³² LMA/SBL/0367-128, 26 March 1889.

³³ LMA/SBL/0369, 1892,



Figure 8: Detail from Irving's study of the *Shaftesbury* showing funnels and cowls (1903)³⁴



Figure 9: Inmates pose with knots: showing off the Awning Deck's aesthetic of simplicity and space (c. 1895).³⁵

³⁴ Enlargement of Figure 3.

³⁵ From 'Snap-Shots of TS Shaftesbury By Dr R. C. Male and Dr Snell', C. 1895: Thurrock Museum Collection, Grays, Essex.



Figure 10: Inmates pose with rifles, showing how the wooden deck neutralises the industrial feel of the ventilation cowls and metal mast (c. 1895).³⁶

The façade was important as the Awning Deck had two primary, inter-related roles in the life of the ship: as the *Shaftesbury*'s physical training area and as a public-facing space. Much of the Awning Deck's physical usage related to the half of inmates' curriculum dedicated to sea training. During the re-fit, the masts were altered and rigging changed to suit sail training. Time-tabled activities, such as sail-sewing, and sail and boat drills required the space and environment of the top deck. Although West Field, the ship's onshore play field, was sometimes used for drill practice it was too far away to ever entirely replace the Awning Deck as a formal or informal exercise space. ER Robson, the SBL's chief architect, was clear that playground gymnastic areas were pedagogical spaces on a par with school rooms. *School Architecture*, his design manifesto, reprints pages of illustrations and design notes on the positioning of horizontal bars and other equipment in school grounds: analysing their precise measurements,

³⁶ From 'Snap-Shots of TS Shaftesbury By Dr R. C. Male and Dr Snell', C. 1895: Thurrock Museum Collection, Grays, Essex.

construction and use.³⁷ As Philpott notes in *London At School*, by the 1880s only Industrial Schools and ‘special education’ institutions taught gymnastics within the SBL system. Initially only gymnastics and martial drill were taught aboard. The ‘gymnasium’, complete with exercise bars (see *Figure 12*) and straw bales³⁸ (used to protect against accidents), being the only permanent features of physical training for visitors to see. In the Summer of 1889, after outbreaks of illness, and with increasing pressure to find more places in the Royal Navy for his boys, Scriven asked permission to employ a dedicated ‘physical drill instructor’ (from monies saved by reducing the number of salaried carpenters).³⁹ In the end the ship’s officers were given formal training in the SBL’s own system,⁴⁰ and equipped with two-hundred ‘pairs of light wooden dumb bells’.⁴¹ In 1895, the ship was given, on permanent loan, small arms and a field gun with which to conduct its martial drill. Objections to the militarization of drill – both on the ship and at the SBL – received considerable satirical coverage in the conservative press (exemplified by *Figure 13*). The incident points to two important features of the Awning Deck pre-1895. The first is that, despite aspirations to enter its inmates in the Services, the *Shaftesbury*’s physical education was intentionally civilian. At a time when the Royal Society of Arts was heavily promoting rifle drill, the exercise on ship involved only dumb bells. The second is that the Awning Deck (along with West Field, occasionally) was a ‘public’ space, where practices and objects had to be considered beyond their significance to those aboard.

³⁷ Robson, *School Architecture*, chapter 14 in particular.

³⁸ LMA/SBL/0367-242, 17 December 1889.

³⁹ LMA/SBL/0367-206, 22nd October 1889. In September the War Office had written to Scriven to ask permission to use the Ship’s boats in conjunction with any possible defense of the Thames, this may have tuned the Captain in to the need to invest more in ‘drill’ preparations: cited in LMA/SBL/0367-208, 22 October 1889.

⁴⁰ LMA/SBL/0367-305, 11 March 1890. This started on the 16 April 1890: LMA/SBL/0367-319, 6 May 1890.

⁴¹ LMA/SBL/0367-338, 17 June 1890.

Figure 11: Detail from an image of an inmate having his hair cut showing iron rivets on near-side of gunwale (c. 1895).¹



Figure12: Horizontal bar in use on Shaftesbury (c. 1895).¹

It is no coincidence that almost all the photographs that survive of the *Shaftesbury* were posed on the Awning Deck. During the annual summer Prize Giving Day the boys' sail and physical drill was inspected on there. The pictures illustrating Philpot's chapter in *London At School* were carefully staged: the real drill and gymnastics displays would have been on a far larger and more impressive scale. The Awning Deck's role as a publicly performative space was not limited to these big occasions, however. The boys' were on display every time a visitor from town, tradesman, committee member, local delegation, parent or friend came aboard; every time a ship or party on the shore ventured near enough to see or hear the daily drills and routines. On the 1 July 1892, for example, members of the East London Working Mens' Club visited the ship and posed for a photograph which is now in the National Archives (*Figure 14*). Such visits by trade and social clubs to the ship were frequent, although they were treated so casually that few details of them remain. The Visiting Day, held once every three months, could see as many as four-hundred of the boys' friends and family descend upon the ship.⁴² The Awning Deck was the visible 'face' of the ship. Bunting and flags, for example, would often decorate the ships to celebrate various local or national occasions, and they were placed in expectation that they could be viewed and interpreted. The contemporary public, as the articles on the training ships in newspapers and boys' magazines show, had a strong understanding of what should constitute training on a ship like the *Shaftesbury*, the Awning Deck was the place where the ship appeared best able to communicate that it was up to the challenge.

⁴² 308 visitors on just one day, the 11 March 1885, cited in LMA/SBL/0365-331, 12 May 1885.



Figure 13: A cartoon satirizing SBL objections to the teaching of martial drill on the *Shaftesbury* (1895).⁴³

Ironically, the Awning Deck was also a space 'open' enough to allow a degree of private space not afforded below. The 'Tops' on sea-training will have taken their break on the Awning Deck. We can perhaps glimpse material fragments of these play-times in the benches that could be sat on, or in the casual leanings against rigging found in the background of posed images. It is here that the boys would play with their toys including cricket sets and whipping tops,⁴⁴ some opting for

⁴³ THE GALLANT CAPTAIN'S PECULIARITIES, *Judy: The Conservative Comic*, 13 March 1895, p. 132.

⁴⁴ *Report to the Secretary of State for the Home Department of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools*, Vol. II (Hereafter, DCRIC, II):

draughts and dominoes, a few, apparently, chewing tobacco.⁴⁵ At the edges of the photograph of the East London Working Mens' Club, we can glimpse inmates at work and rest. As *Figures 15* and *16* show, these fragments share with us how relaxed boys could be in the apparently formalized space: confidently hanging on to ringing or slouching against the ship. The height of the Awning Deck's rigging, and the apparent ease with which boys could climb it suggest that another sense of privacy could be guaranteed there which was not found on the deck below. Depending on wind conditions, voices between boys higher up in the rigging might not be heard, perhaps offering a scarce level of privacy on a ship as well staffed, organized and lit as the *Shaftesbury*. It was from here on 19 June 1884 that JS Ward fell forty feet to his death: his accident whilst 'playing' in the rigging at 7pm.⁴⁶ Inmates seeking privacy or play in the rigging were involved in a degree of risk taking.

Evidence and Index, (London: HMSO, 1896); Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 150, l. 5503.

⁴⁵ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 150, l. 5501: Scriven presents the constant battle the staff faced in trying to stop boys using tobacco.

⁴⁶ LMA/SBL/0365-241, 24 June 1884.



Figure 14: Members of the East London Working Men's Club posed during a visit to the Shaftesbury (1892).



Figure 15: Detail from Figure 14: inmate hanging from rigging



Figure 16: Detail from Figure 14: inmate with hand on hips.

3.1.2 *The School Deck*

The School Deck was the ship's 'main deck', situated immediately below the new deck and housing the School Room and Classroom(s), Lavatory (with its large bathing facility), library, the Captain's Quarters and office, and the Committee Rooms (including a Board Room and lavatory), as well as a small 'tailor shop'. The positions of most of these rooms are known in relation to each other, their precise dimensions and proportions have been lost. The deck was well lit along its full length by natural light, with thirty windows on its starboard side (twenty-two of which were taken up by the School Room).⁴⁷ As with the decks below it was punctured by two hatchways with stairs.⁴⁸ There appears to have been a more homely aesthetic throughout the deck than those below, with blinds upon the windows (or *scuttles*) instead of grates or shutters.⁴⁹ Reports of damage to 'side planking' in the storm of 1881 suggest that it was the only deck to have had side covered in wood, the other decks being left with bare iron sides for many years.⁵⁰ Orders for desks and forms make it clear that the School Room, and possibly much of this deck, was still being finished into Spring of 1879,⁵¹ and requests for higher-grade planking from this period suggest that the School Deck's floors and walls were well finished.⁵² Along the walls in its rooms were hung framed copies of 'Rules, Orders, Routine List, &c' that were requested in Feb 1879.⁵³

⁴⁷ LMA/SBL/0363-187, 29 April 1879.

⁴⁸ LMA/SBL/0367-231, 3 December 1889.

⁴⁹ LMA/SBL/0363-187, 29 April 1879.

⁵⁰ Damage report from 21 January 1881 mentions damage to the 'side planking' of the school deck, as damage to the exterior of the ship is listed separately this ambiguous reference appears to confirm that the deck was walled in yellow pine: LMA/SBL/0364-32.

⁵¹ LMA/SBL/0363-188, 29 April 1879: order for '18 Forms, 10 feet by 11 inches, double rail=180 feet' from GM Hammer'

⁵² LMA/SBL/0363-131, 3 December 1878, for example: '1200 Square feet...planned one side + matched for flooring' as well as further large amounts planed both sides' for wall partitions.

⁵³ LMA/SBL/0363-150, 11 February 1879: at this point 'more than one hundred boys on board' according to the medical officer (150).

3.1.2.1 *The Captain's Quarters*

Proceeding from the *aft*, the Captain's Quarters and Board Rooms sat conceptually apart from the rest of the ship. The Scriven family apartments consisted as a separate functioning unit to the rest of the ship. It had its own lavatory, bedrooms, drawing room, and a small cooking 'kitchener,' all joined by a corridor. Requests for decoration by the family show that Scriven's quarters extended to the 'outer-passage' of the rooms, and the deck directly over the Quarters, which probably held a private staircase down to the rooms.⁵⁴ Instructions to painters include 'oil colour' for the 'drawing room...flat inner passages and Deck house' [sic] suggesting a wood or stucco finish, whilst the more expensive 'oil grain oak' and varnish requested for a section of the inner passage shows that at least some portion of the quarters were panelled in stained wood.⁵⁵ The scandal that grew from the 'luxurious' furnishings has been outlined in chapter two, and it is interesting to note that between the 'Rug Scandal' of 1879 and the 'Tripe Scandal' of 1896 the expense of luxury goods ordered by Scriven for his quarters often led to consternation in the SMC or the SBL's Accountancy Department. On the 31st January 1888, for example, Scriven is 'instructed to return' the following items after having a payment request refused:

2 dozen cut tumblers, £1 (contract price, etched 2s); 2 glass sugar bowls, 10s. (contract price, 8d); 1 toast rack, 5s; 2 cake stands, £1 1s; 1 set glass dishes, 12s; Gravy spoon warmer, 6s; 2 pie dishes, 5s.⁵⁶

In the main, however, the monthly accounts show that Scriven and his family were deprived of little for furnishing their apartments. When carpet needed replacing due to wear and tear, for example, care was taken to choose replacements of 'similar character': this extends to 'Brussels' carpets for the bedrooms.⁵⁷ Amidst an ophthalmia outbreak in 1889, during a debate over whether a nurse should be given a salary, the SMC granted to approve Scriven

⁵⁴ LMA/SBL/0367-125, 26 March 1889.

⁵⁵ LMA/SBL/0367-126, 26 March 1889.

⁵⁶ LMA/SBL/0366-250

⁵⁷ LMA/SBL/0367-126, 26 March 1889. Carpets, at least those in the Drawing Room, had felt underlay: LMA/SBL/0367-148, 14 May 1889.

the services of a French Polisher on board for a week.⁵⁸ Amongst more apparently necessary expenses, such as those to cover the re-painting of his quarters⁵⁹ or an upholsterer for his curtains,⁶⁰ there are demands to cover the costs of expensive decorative items such as trays and vases.⁶¹ On the SMC, Mrs Westlake was in charge of examining requests for luxury items from the ship. Her documenting of an 1882 request, subsequently approved, speaks to the style of the Scriven quarters:

8 ½ yds carpet 36 inches wide[,] 20 yds carpet 29 inches wide for passage & staircase[,] 3 Bordered Cocoa Nut Mats 37 x 26 inches. 6 yds Serge or Cretonne 32 in wide for recovering 2 Drawing Room Chairs – 20 yds Serge 30 inch wide for re-covering [sic] Deck House Cushions; 12 yds Cretonne 32 inches wide for bedroom [corridor?] curtains[,] 12 yds Binding[,] 3 yds Trill, 1 Bedroom Rug 7 by 4 ft[...]⁶²

It is clear from other discussions in the minutes that, at least as far as Scriven was concerned, the Deck House on the Awning Deck formed part of 'his' space on the ship.

The actual nomenclature for its internal spaces varies in the minutes, a 'sitting-room' is mentioned in 1889, for example, and it is unclear as to whether this refers to the Drawing Room previously mentioned or a separate space: occasional references to the Captain's 'kitchener'⁶³ and, intriguingly, a single mention of his 'pantry'⁶⁴ also suggest food preparation areas that may be too insignificant to figure amongst other minute items. The confusion makes it difficult to analyse the spaces in terms of comparable division in standard Victorian domestic spaces. The fact that such confusion exists, however, illustrates something of the distance between the SMC's jurisdiction and Scriven's private domain. These well-furnished rooms can be read not as one man's folly but as sites of symbolic struggle: between the public and private, the masculine and feminine. With regard to the former, the Captain's Quarters were

⁵⁸ LMA/SBL/0367-179, 2 July 1889.

⁵⁹ LMA/SBL/0365-260, 7 October 1884

⁶⁰ LMA/SBL/0364-280, 16 May 1882.

⁶¹ LMA/SBL/0364-93, 25 April 1881.

⁶² LMA/SBL/0364-259, 4 April 1882.

⁶³ LMA/SBL/0367-168, 28 May 1889, for example.

⁶⁴ LMA/SBL/0367-166, 28 May 1889.

naturally related to the expressly public Board Office and Meeting Room that led onto them. A little like their counterparts on Royal Navy ships, they were entertaining rooms for guests and officers as well as private family spaces. Yet from the 1880s Scriven appears to have acted in ways to deliberately 'privatise' these and other spaces on board.

Scriven's 'privatisation' of space is best illustrated by two examples of spatial annexation, one literal and one symbolic. The first occurs in early 1883, when after getting SMC approval of placing 'his Clerk in the Ship's Library' due to a lack of office space, Scriven asked 'that he might be allowed to use a part of the Board-Room as a dining room'.⁶⁵ The request is significant as it came to involve considerable physical alteration to the function of this part of the ship. The Library was remodelled using £3 15s worth of wood, and the erection of screens to divide the Board Room for Scriven's use involved hiring an extra carpenter.⁶⁶ The alteration of these spaces symbolised the growing administrative power assumed or invested in Scriven. The administrative complexity (filling Home Office returns, maintaining contact with shipping agents, etc) was growing year-on-year, and there is some evidence too that Scriven's sense of his own standing increased in proportion. In particular, one can find hubris in the number of staff who were sacked after confrontations with the Captain, and the increasingly high-handed manner in which this was reported by Scriven to the committee.⁶⁷ The physical appropriation of such symbolic spaces in the ship therefore represent a metaphorical change in Scriven's sense of the ship's governance at, arguably, the height of his powers. The annexations eat into space that comes under the 'jurisdiction' of the School Board Inspectorate (the Library) and SMC (the Board Room). The latter was an early warning of the way Scriven used – and was enabled to use – domesticity to appropriate and control space on the ship.

⁶⁵ LMA/SBL/0365-50, 20 February 1883.

⁶⁶ LMA/SBL/0365-73/4, 3 April 1883,

⁶⁷ Several times, often prompted by letters from disgruntled employees, Scriven is asked to relate the number and names of staff dismissed from the ship since its foundation.

A more symbolic form of these incursions occurred in late February 1889, when Scriven requested a system of 'electric bells' and signals to allow him to communicate more easily from his 'rooms'.⁶⁸ The list of rooms in question was telling: the 'Drawing Room, Breakfast Room, Board Room, Deckhouse, ... three Bedrooms...and Captain's Office'. A similar bell and signal system is shown in the catalogue of Young and Martin, the company that supplied the *Shaftesbury*, where it is advertised as for the use of upper-middle-class families to communicate with their housekeeping staff. Although the request is for technology to facilitate communication between the Captain's space and the 'working' space of the ship, the act performs a kind of *de facto* barrier between them. Scriven had appropriated a symbol of domestic hierarchy and used it to re-write power relations in the institution. In addition, the Scriven family chose fitting options to suit the 'feminine' surroundings of their quarters: thus the technology to issue Scriven's orders appears in rose and pear porcelain 'presses', with silk cord and a gold lettered Dial.⁶⁹ The same 'presses' appeared in the Deck House and Captain's Office. The most obvious reading is that the 'electric bell' system was really being used for domestic service purposes. Certainly, some inmate Petty Officers received pay as 'cabin boys' and at the time of the 1891 Census a domestic servant named Selina Money appears to be housed in the 'Servant's bedroom' within the Scriven family quarters.⁷⁰

3.1.2.2 *The Committee or Board Rooms*

Neighbouring the Captain's quarters, the Committee Rooms (sometimes 'Board Rooms') were literally the rooms for School Board business. They consisted of a Board Room, two cabins and a lavatory for use by Board members visiting the ship. The space housed a Sub-Committee of the SMC, which met in the Board Room every fortnight after a long journey by train from Fenchurch Street, and

⁶⁸ LMA/SBL/0367-93, 26 February 1889.

⁶⁹ LMA/SBL/0367-93, 26 February 1889.

⁷⁰ LMA/SBL/0369; 'Training Ship Shaftesbury', 1891 Census, Orsett-Essex, Grays, Folio 102 p. 102.

also the local inspectors appointed to visit the ship without appointment.⁷¹ The Committee Rooms therefore functioned as a kind of administrative colony of the SBL. It was here also that the VIP guests attending summer Prize Giving Days would eat luncheon, and so one might imagine a well decorated, panelled space, capable of functioning as a committee meeting room or being decorated to regularly receive MPs and minor royalty. The rooms were carpeted and contained expensive rugs. There are signs, however, that the rooms did not escape from the noise and smells outside. In addition to the pillars to support the roof mentioned above, the noisome outlet pipes that plagued the nostrils of the Scriven family would also have troubled those in the nearby Board Room.⁷² Adjoining the SMC rooms were the Captain's office and a library. The Captain's office is a place of considerable power: it was here that corporal punishment took place, and the many staff members to incur Scriven's disapproval were informed of their fate.⁷³

3.1.2.3 *The Library*

The Library is where all the ship's reading materials were stored, although a Class Room was 'set apart for quiet reading'⁷⁴ following Scriven's annexations in 1883. The use of the Library appears to have been controlled by the Head Schoolmaster, Mr Hyatt, who in March 1885, after criticism from the SMC over its working, was 'instructed to arrange to call in all books every fortnight, and to see that they were being properly used'.⁷⁵ The 'loss' of 39 volumes in 1889 further

⁷¹ The fact that the managers met on the ship must have been, at times, a strangely intrusive event. Part of his 'domestication' of the space was perhaps his way of combating the spatial invasion. The ships 'visitors' failed to visit the ship regularly.

⁷² LMA/SBL/0367-164, 28 May 1889.

⁷³ It is here that Scriven, waving a document superciliously in front of a staff member he was chastising, was attacked and 'pushed over the desk', echoing the rooms function in the rituals of staff violence against pupils in the form of corporal punishment.

⁷⁴ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 150, l. 5535.

⁷⁵ LMA/SBL/0365-303, 3 March 1885: Still 'Mr Hyatt'.

angered the Committee,⁷⁶ and Scriven was eventually asked to conduct periodic inspections of the books,⁷⁷ an infringement of 'ship' into 'school' territory that appears to have contributed to the developing animosity between the Captain and Hyatt.⁷⁸ Perhaps not surprisingly, the most numerous books on board were religious books (including hymn books) and those related to schoolwork. In early September 1878 an 'emergency' order was placed for prayer and hymn books by the popular evangelical song writer Ira Sankey.⁷⁹ Consent was given to the large order after brief consideration, but in future samples of books for religious use had to be sent to the SMC for inspection prior to orders being placed. This illustrates the level of general sensitivity surrounding denominational worship at the Board, particularly in connection with Scriven's dissenting beliefs. In October 1878, *Onward Reciter Vols I - VII*, and *Penny Readings 12 Vols* were ordered without query, whilst *Sankey's Songs and Solos* (50 copies requested), and *Sunday Scholars Hymn Books* (50 copies) were closely vetted.⁸⁰ When agreement came in November, it was 'decided to allow the Captain to use these books', a phrasing which hints at the Board's concerns about the influence of the Captain's personal beliefs over the religious education on board.⁸¹

Items intended for School Room use, from furniture to wall charts, are almost invisible in the SMC minutes, with decisions and order requests apparently being left to the discretion of the Schools Inspectorate.⁸² However, in addition to the

⁷⁶ LMA/SBL/0367-90, 12 February 1889.

⁷⁷ LMA/SBL/0367-91, 12 February 1889.

⁷⁸ In the end Hyatt was transferred to the 'Head Mastership of a second grade school' in 1892: LMA/SBL/0369-86.

⁷⁹ LMA/SBL/0363-100, 2 September 1878.

⁸⁰ LMA/SBL/0363-119, 22 October 1878. In addition to the religious books used by the boys, 300 bibles were ordered in Spring 1879 'one for each boy': LMA/SBL/0363-188, 29 April 1879.

⁸¹ LMA/SBL/0363-124, 5 Nov 1878: 50 copies of the hymn book were ordered (in addition to 275 other Sankeys ordered 'in emergency') in September 1878; but 500 copies of the Prayer Book were ordered, effectively solidifying it as the pillar of conventional religious ceremony on the ship. In March the following year a further 200 copies of Scriven's choices arrived: LMA/SBL/0363-165, 11 March 1879.

⁸² What remains are usually prices and notes that the order is in the hands of the inspectors: e.g., 'Requisition for Books & Apparatus, amounting to £15.15.3 was

books for religious worship we do have example titles of periodicals to be read in inmates' leisure time. As early as 1878, the Captain had requested:

The British Workman
The Onward Reciter
The Children's Friend
The Band of Hope Review
The Childs Companion [sic]
The Sunbeam
The Chatterbox
*The Weekly Welcome*⁸³

The variety of these periodicals appears to have increased during the *Shaftesbury's* life. Later, the Religious Tract Society 'granted a supply' of *The Leisure Hour* and *Sunday At Home*.⁸⁴ Scriven's evidence to the DCRIC in 1895 shows that the inmates read 'pretty freely':

I do not exactly get them the daily papers, but they get the *Boy's Own Paper*, *Chums*, &c., and papers of that sort. They have a look at the daily papers, because a large number come on board, and they have papers sent them by their friends, like *Lloyd's*, and that sort of thing.⁸⁵

The addition of the two titles Scriven named to the magazine list on ship is significant, and not just because it is symptomatic of the rise, during the later decades of the nineteenth century, of the genre which 'Boy's Own' came to describe. Magazines of the genre, like *Chums*, not only sometimes discussed training ships as part of their fictional tales of daring-do, but also occasionally carried factual pieces about them. Thus, in March 1893, *Chums* carried a two page article detailing a visit to the *Shaftesbury*.⁸⁶ Such pieces – whether fiction or faction, romantically styled or reportage – offered the inmates a narrative for their own experiences in stark contrast to the attacks against the ship often made in '*Lloyd's*' and the other papers sent aboard. On the *Wellesley*, insubordination and the absconding of eight boys in 1870 was attributed, in part,

referred to the Board Inspector', LMA/SBL/0363-212, May 1879. The evidence suggests substantial expenditure.

⁸³ LMA/SBL/0363-101, 2 September 1878.

⁸⁴ LMA/SBL/0363-105, 24 September 1878.

⁸⁵ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 150, l. 5533.

⁸⁶ 'On a Training Ship', *Chums*, March 29 1893, Issue 29, p452.

to the reading of sensationalist novels.⁸⁷ As a result, the ship bought subscriptions to *Chatterbox* and *Leisure Hour* – two titles the Shaftesbury took – to encourage less dangerous leisure reading.⁸⁸ It was a use apparently anticipated by the creator of *Chatterbox*, who ‘founded the magazine in reaction to penny dreadful magazines’ that were seen to have a corrupting influence on young minds.⁸⁹

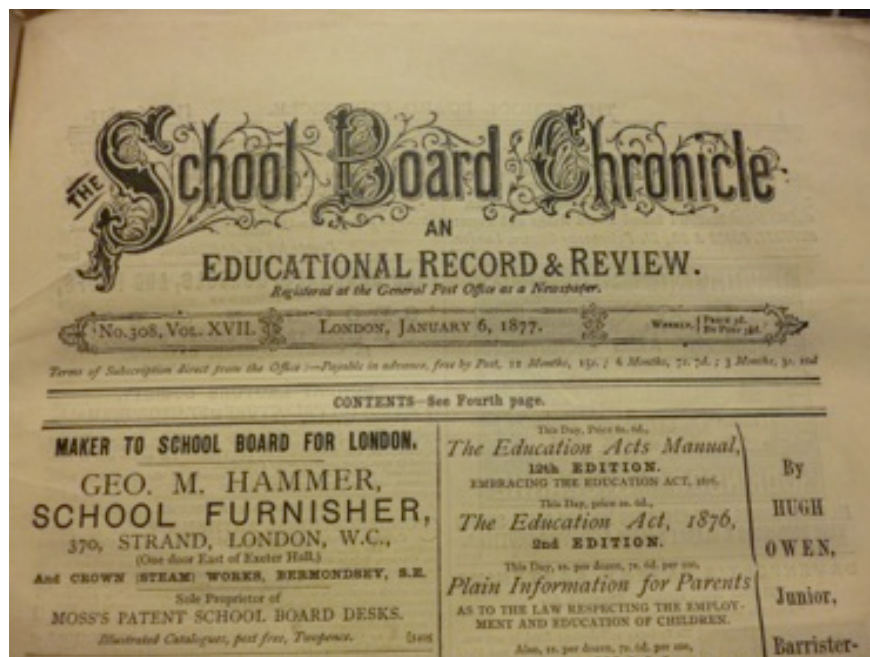


Figure 17: One of Geo. M. Hammer’s advertisements in the *School Board Chronicle* (1877).

3.1.2.4 The School Room

Prior to the *Shaftesbury*’s refit, Scriven was tasked with travelling around England and Scotland to research the interior and fittings of other charity training ships. All those privy to his reports of cramped, makeshift school rooms – such as those of the *Mars*, discussed in chapter one – will have understood

⁸⁷ Bovill, p123

⁸⁸ Bovill, p123

⁸⁹ Kristine Moruzi, ‘Children’s Periodicals’, in Andrew King, Alexis Easeley, John Morton (ed), *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 293-306, p. 295.

what an impressive creation the *Shaftesbury's* school space was. Around 80ft long and 8.5ft high, it was well lit with '22 fine windows of a single pane each' along its sides.⁹⁰ Following on from the School Room were two Class Rooms, 30ft by 15ft, then a symbol of modern and progress pedagogy,⁹¹ which could be thrown into one 'by tricing up partitions on bulkheads'. At the School Room's centre was a harmonium, the source of outrage in the conservative press, which diffused the School Room's order throughout the ship when it acted as an accompaniment to pre-meal singing on the Mess Deck below. Whilst general apparatus requests (for the 'maps, charts, etc,' that adorned the walls) were sent to the Board store, Geo. Hammer effectively held a tender for the initial supply of school furniture according to plans agreed by the School Inspector.⁹² Hammer, based on the Strand, was one of the principle contractors for school boards, and a regular advertiser in the *School Board Chronicle* (even appearing on the front page in *Figure 17*). The company supplied the ship, from their standard school catalogue, with bookcases and desks for all inmates and teaching masters.⁹³ It is the very 'standard' nature of these purchases that made them so extraordinary; the School Room was created not as a compromised or adapted space, but as a floating version of a Board school. The *Daily News* noted that the 'school deck is planned with very considerable skill, and is fitted with the most modern appliances for the inculcation of knowledge – maps, diagrams, and abundant desks. The school-room...may be pronounced a model of what a school-room should be in arrangement, appliances, light, air, and cleanliness.'

⁹⁰ *Illustrated London News*, 14 December, 1878.

⁹¹ As discussed in Chapter One, the Class Room was a symbol of the SBL's enthusiasm for 'modern', neo-German pedagogical space.

⁹² 18.10ft by 12.11ft Birch desks and seats. By the 8 February 1881, however, the new Works Department was being asked to supply 13 desks and two masters' desks: LMA/SBL/0364-41.

⁹³ LMA/SBL/0363-83, 16 July 1878. (Desks and Masters' Tables).

In practice, the School Room was never a simple copy of a well-performing Board school. Initially fifty boys were 'rewarded' with sleeping in the Class Rooms on hammocks, as opposed to bedsteads in the Sleeping Deck. As inmate numbers swelled, the Class Rooms became permanent overflow sleeping accommodation at night. There is evidence, also, that the deck's reputation for being modern, airy, and well ventilated had faded by the late 1880s. In October 1888, the ship's Medical Officer, Dr Male, delivered a report to the SMC on the problems of ventilation on board the ship.⁹⁴ The Committee visited the problem spaces, which included the two Class Rooms (later fitted with 'outlet pipes as a

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result of Dr Male's recommendation).⁹⁵ In May 1889 an external contractor was brought in to make structural changes and fit apparatus to the School Deck, Mess Deck and Sleeping Deck for the promotion of better ventilation. The *Shaftesbury*, with over four-hundred inmates on board, was in the wake of an outbreak of a contagious eye disease, which helped to focus the attention of the SMC on Dr Male's earlier recommendations. The School Deck had four 9 inch by 6 inch holes cut into its side, and filled with perforated panels with shutters.⁹⁶

April 28, 1877.] THE SCHOOL BOARD CHRONICLE. 445

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The Makers are warranted in asserting that this is the best **CONVERTIBLE DESK** yet offered. The following are some of its

SPECIAL FEATURES.

1. The Leaf by a very simple contrivance can be easily and securely fixed in the positions required to form **Desk, Table, or Backed Seat**, and without removal of Inkwells.
2. The lids when raised (as in Diagram) serve as supports to Drawing Copies—and when closed as Book-rests.
3. The Book-board not only strengthens but greatly improves the appearance of the Desk.



The Company makes **Fixed Top Desks** similar in design to the **Convertible**—also **Convertible and Fixed Top Desks** for Infants, besides supplying others in various styles. Attention is requested to their speciality in

SLATEBOARDS

which are superior to either Blackboards or Welsh Slates. They are the result of a recent discovery by which the most carefully selected wood is coated with a preparation which to the **Sight and Touch** is equal to the best Welsh Slate, whilst they possess the great advantages of cheapness, lightness, and non-liability to leakage. They are warranted neither to warp nor crack, and can be supplied in any Size, Thickness, Light in Frames, or mounted in Stands with Patent Swing Movement.

Figure 19: A sample desk advertisement from the *School Board Chronicle* (1877).

The School Room – and, indeed, much of the ship in general – bears considerable hallmarks of the Robsonian style of architecture, as discussed in chapter one. There is evidence that Robson visited the West Field site when the *Shaftesbury*

⁹⁵ LMA/SBL/0367-43, 16 October 1888.

⁹⁶ LMA/SBL/0367-157, 25 May 1889.

was planning to build its new Infirmary in 1898, and it is likely that Robson either drew up or approved plans for the School and Class-Rooms.⁹⁷

The Board Room had overtones of an administrative colony on board the ship, but the school space took this a step further by becoming a space for a thriving market in school apparatus. Example advertisements from the School Board Chronicle during the years the *Shaftesbury* was created, in *Figures 18, 19 and 20* show that the School Room was not just a site of education, but a target for a thriving market in educational apparatus and goods. It was a market that clearly enveloped industrial schools as well as ordinary board schools: as the advert for the ship's 'Alpha' gas machines in *Figure 20* demonstrates. Everything from the pens the inmates used to the rooms' wall decorations were the product of advertising and competition. By the late 1870s the market was fiercely competitive with new 'patents' and claims being made each month. The School Room typifies the *Shaftesbury's* – or rather its stakeholders' – ambivalence to the commercial markets the ship became entwined with. It is worth noting that the 'modernity' of the School Deck depicted in the *Daily News* was eroded not just by changes in function caused by the ship's over-population, but also by the Board's intermittent insistence that the ship obtain all its educational supplies via the Board Store. By the late nineteenth century, the 'best' School Rooms were ones that displayed their openness to market-promulgated innovation.

⁹⁷ LMA/SBL/0365-132, 21 February 1893: Scriven's request for framed copies of the Ship's plans is delayed by 'pressure of work' in the Board's Architecture Department suggesting that the plans were originally drawn up and stored there.



THE "ALPHA" PATENT PORTABLE GAS-MAKING APPARATUS.

THIS Apparatus is specially constructed to supply that which has long been wanting—A PERFECT LIGHT in Country Districts where Coal Gas is unobtainable. It will produce Gas instantaneously of great brilliancy with perfect safety requiring neither coal, heat, nor skilled labour in its management or manufacture.

The PROCESS IS VERY SIMPLE—The Reservoir being filled with Gasoline, the weight wound up, and the main tap turned on, the Gas is ready for lighting. This apparatus being now supplied with a self-feeding arrangement, gives a perfectly steady and uniform light, and all the attention required is winding up and refilling with Gasoline when empty. The Gas is produced in the same quantity as consumed, so that no waste or evaporation is possible.

The Apparatus is sent out ready for working, requiring simply filling, and being self-contained it is particularly ADAPTED FOR EXPORTATION, and there is no fear of it getting out of order.

The Gasoline used is 6750 gravity, and can be supplied direct from the works or by Local Agents in different parts of the country, or from the importers in London, Liverpool, Bristol, and other places, and can be exported to all parts.

This Apparatus has been in use for more than three years in England and all parts of the world, and is giving entire satisfaction. Hundreds of Testimonials may be seen or copies obtained and prospectuses sent on application.

PRICES:
 No. 1 for 10 Lights, £16 10s 0d | No. 2 for 25 Lights, £30 0s 0d | No. 3 for 50 Lights, £55 0s 0d | No. 4 for 100 Lights, £90 0s 0d
 FREE IN BIRMINGHAM.
 FOR LARGER SIZES SPECIAL QUOTATIONS WILL BE GIVEN.

By the aid of the IMPROVED ATMOSPHERIC GAS ENGINE, which is adapted specially for this machine, power is created suitable for all purposes, where steam is out of the question; consequently the danger of explosion is obviated, and the trouble and constant attention of a stoker is dispensed with.

FOR FURTHER PARTICULARS APPLY TO THE PROPRIETOR OF THE PATENT,
H. L. MILLER. [Sd]
 Show Rooms—3, Livery Street; Offices—22, Mary Ann Street, Birmingham.
 London Offices, 35, Hatton Garden, E.C.

Figure 20: An advertisement for the 'Alpha' gas machine in the *School Board Chronicle* (1877).

3.1.2.5 The Tailor Shop

Common to all training ships, the tailor shop was vital not just for the quick or cheap repair of clothing, but also as the means by which boys who did not wish to go to sea could be trained for employment. The DCRIC shows concerns that the *Shaftesbury's* tailor shop was underutilized. On many training ships the tailor and shoemaking shops not only made a substantial number of uniforms from scratch, but also sold items for profit, training boys to a level acceptable to trade employers. The *Shaftesbury* never committed itself as fully to the enterprises. The tailor shop only ever made a small percentage of sample uniforms, largely sowing together pre-made sections. Scriven was clear that his aim was to give boys experience of tailoring that may contribute towards gaining employment rather than to qualify them. Requests to give its three sewing machines their first repairs or service for eight years in July 1890 show that the room was not fitted out or maintained in way consistent with training for a trade.⁹⁸

3.1.2.6 The Inmates' Lavatory

The Inmates Lavatory was perhaps the most unusual public and symbolic space on the ship. Press accounts of it recall descriptions of upper middle-class

⁹⁸ LMA/SBL/0368-29, 29 July 1890: one machine alone was billed for seventeen separate repairs listed from the company responsible for the service.

bathrooms: it is 'a large apartment, lofty and airy, well lighted and warmed.'⁹⁹ It is no coincidence that these compliments echoed accounts of the School Room itself, as the Lavatory was also an interpretation of the SBL's principles of pedagogical space. It applied principles of lighting, space and architectural 'flow' to the idea of bathing. Its apparatus, and their positioning, were designed to enshrine bathing as an ameliorative group practice rather than a time for ineffective personal splashing. Around the room's sides were 'ranged the small baths of galvanised iron in which every boy is duly soaped and scrubbed every morning before he is allowed to take his final plunge into the large central bath...in which he is allowed one swim round before he gets out'.¹⁰⁰ This large communal pool - 16ft by 12ft and 5ft deep¹⁰¹ - was part of the boys' daily hygiene regimen, and a central part of the ritual life of the ship. The large central bath quickly became a ritual object in public narratives of the ship:

The great plunge-bath on the lower deck, in which every boy is immersed every morning of his life, seems to have had the effect of instituting a high standard of cleanliness, as well as promoting a general neatness and trimness of carriage and attire.¹⁰²

As will be discussed in Chapter Six, the Lavatory was constructed as a symbol of ritual cleansing in public narratives: as the boys' symbolic gateway to a moral cleansing, a space where they could become as free from the moral contamination of their home environments, as physical grime. Yet the material history of the space offers a more sober perspective. A homely, but rot-prone, wooden floor had been replaced with concrete in 1882.¹⁰³ There were also frequent requests for caulking due to water leakage from 1885, suggesting that the aesthetic of the middle-class bathroom gradually gave way to a more institutional and stark one.

⁹⁹ *Daily News*, 25 March, 1879.

¹⁰⁰ *Daily News*, 25 March, 1879; also, LMA/SBL/0365-173, 12 July 1884, there is an order for a dozen 'galvanizd iron baths, £18' which suggests the scale of the room.

¹⁰¹ *Illustrated London News*, 14 December, 1878.

¹⁰² *Daily News*, 30 July 1879.

¹⁰³ LMA/SBL/0364-229, 7 March 1882.

The nearby room containing the boys' latrines and 'water closets' was decidedly less pleasant than the Lavatory. Prior to alterations made in 1890, their poorly designed and fitted discharged pipes fed into each other and frequently caused the 'regurgitation' of raw sewerage into the room.¹⁰⁴ The reliance on a wind-powered cowl to disperse air from the latrines – which unless turned to the correct position frequently by hand failed to work – led to 'disagreeable odours' being 'wafted through the neighbouring deck space'.¹⁰⁵ By early spring 1890, new outlet pipes and a new automated exhaust cowl meant that the toilet facilities on board were less noisome for users and inmates in adjoining spaces alike.¹⁰⁶ Despite their proximity to the publically lauded Lavatory, the uncleanness of the latrines' trough and stalls was tolerated until the mid 1890s when, under advice from the Medical Officer, they were modernised and improved. Too 'private' and ordinary a space to figure in the public narratives of the Lavatory, the space instead became a recurrent feature of internal preoccupations with the health of the ship: a place that contaminated the deck through miasmas and odours.

Section Two: The *Shaftesbury's* Private Spaces

3.2.1 *The Mess or Lower Deck*

With the exception of the Carpenter Shop, the Band Instrument Room and the officers' cabins, the Mess deck was dedicated to the preparation and consumption of food: housing the Officers' Mess, the Inmates' Mess and the Galley. Consumption of food was central to the aims of the ship. The earliest industrial schools were originally called 'industrial feeding schools,' and the Home Office continued to stipulate dietary requirements during the *Shaftesbury's* existence as the inmates were drawn from situations which left them prone to under-nourishment. The specific needs and limitations of the

¹⁰⁴ From John MacDonald's Report into ventilation, discussed below, in 1889: LMA/SBL/0367-232, 3 December 1889.

¹⁰⁵ LMA/SBL/0367-232, 3 December 1889.

¹⁰⁶ LMA/SBL/0367-296, 11 March, 1890.

Shaftesbury prompted Scriven to submit his own ‘amended dietary table’ to the SMC in April 1885,¹⁰⁷ with substitutions that proved so successful that it was eventually recommended by the Board to the Home Office.¹⁰⁸ From the mid-1880s, food became the site of symbolic power struggles between the staff and the SMC. Scriven confidently annexed Board space for his dining room, as well as re-writing Home Office dietary guidelines. The SMC, for its part, called officers before it to explain why the Officers’ Mess food budget had been breached on several occasions, eventually forcing the officers to agree to appoint a budget monitor. The press obsessions with menu details during the ‘Tripe Scandal’ appear less arbitrary and trivial in this context, engaging the culture of the *Shaftesbury*’s staff exactly on their own terms.

3.2.1.1 *Officers’ Cabins*

To the aft of the Mess Deck were officers’ cabins. As detailed above in Chapter Two, a great deal of antipathy was directed towards the provision of luxurious carpets and furnishings for the bedrooms of ‘the carpenter, the night watchman, the stoker, and the lamp-man’.¹⁰⁹ Indeed, Andrew Lang’s satirical poem about the ship begins by poking fun at the very idea of a humble stoker in such a refined environment. If we disregard occasional overspends on food, the luxury of an extra cabin awarded chief officers, and a few decorative pieces supplied to each cabin before launch, the officers’ lives were far from luxurious. In 1881 a request for fittings for two new officers’ cabins provide an insight into standard furnishings. The details given below were intended to match the fittings in original cabins, and were purchased from the same vendors:

2 Hair Mattresses	@20/	£2.00
2 Hair Bolsters	@8/.	16.0

¹⁰⁷ LMA/SBL/0365-325, 28 April 1885.

¹⁰⁸ LMA/SBL/0365-332, 12 May 1885. The Government Inspector approved the table with one substitution; LMA/SBL/0365-351, 21 July, 1885.

¹⁰⁹ ‘The proceedings of the London School Board at its last meeting are a fine study for the ratepayers of the metropolitan district’, *The Morning Post*, 19 March 1879, p. 4.

2 Hair Pillows	@5/.	10s
2 Hair Rugs	@15/ 9	£1.11.6
2 Chests Drawers	@£2.10.1	£5.00
2 Washstands	@2.5.9[?]	£4.10.0
2 Chairs	@10/6	£1.1.0
2 Deck Rugs	@13/6	£1.7.0 ¹¹⁰

Amongst the recommendations in an 1889 report into poor ventilation on the ship, there is mention of poor air in the officers' 'steerage'. This suggests that the staff cabins on each deck were segregated and linked by a corridor and hatchway. The separation, perhaps marked by screens or doors, was not indicated by decorative differences. Unlike the Captain's quarters and corridors, no separate painting order was placed for these spaces. In fact, the officers' cabins are included in the iron-sided areas of the Sleeping Deck to receive anti-conduction paint. Some differences in officers' rank were, until January 1894, represented in spatial terms, however. Both the Chief Officer and the Head Schoolmaster were allotted two cabins each until this date, when they were re-arranged to make room for engineering staff brought into manage the new lighting and heating systems.¹¹¹

3.2.1.2 *The Officers' Mess*

The orders for the Officers Mess are evidence of a mixture of cheap necessity and modest luxury: 18 shillings for 2 dozen cut tumblers,¹¹² 7 shillings 6 pence for a dozen cups and saucers, 2 shillings for four slop basins, 5 shillings 9 pence for a wooden bowl.¹¹³ Orders for the plain white crockery that was used day-to-day – such as the 3s white breakfast plates – are placed with the same supplier as that for the Boys' Messes.¹¹⁴ A number of complaints were received by the SMC about the unpleasantly cold temperature in the Officers' Mess during winters in

¹¹⁰ LMA/SBL/0364-43, 8 February 1881.

¹¹¹ LMA/SBL/0369-313, 23 January 1894.

¹¹² Just two shillings short of a request from the Captain for 2 dozen cut tumblers that got refused, although the communal use of the object in the mess somewhat accounts for this.

¹¹³ LMA/SBL/0363-128, 19 November 1878.

¹¹⁴ LMA/SBL/0363-213, 29 May 1879.

the 1880s, although requests for a stove were repeatedly ignored or dismissed. As with Captain's dining room, there is some evidence that the fare served became a little more luxurious from the mid-1880s but this resulted in severe reprimands. In fact, the SMC displayed a patronizing attitude towards the Officers' Mess, unlike the relative free hand given to Scriven's own dining account before the 1896 Tripe Scandal. Whilst the Captain was allowed to place his own orders, for example, the SMC's Christmas fare 'bonus' was awarded to the officers and boys together.¹¹⁵ This was unfortunate because, as Scriven did not allow any 'intoxicating liquor' on board, the Captain and officers of the *Shaftesbury* may have used food as a means of distinguishing themselves from the charges that they lived and worked alongside. In April 1885 representatives from the Officers' Mess were hauled in front of the SMC, and told that they had to form a Mess Committee in order to prevent the officers' food budget being exceeded.¹¹⁶ Both boys and officers' average weekly Mess spending had to be submitted to the SMC as part of the Captain's Statement each month.¹¹⁷ As with the Scriven's interest in creating his own dining room, and unapproved orders for expensive glassware, this episode raises serious questions when read in light of the Tripe Scandal: suggesting that spreading officers' food bill over boys' accounts was conscious decision taken after exceeded budgets met with disapproval.

¹¹⁵ LMA/SBL/0367-223, 19 November 1889: 'Committee decided to allow sum of £10 for the purpose of giving extra fare to the officers and boys at Christmas'

¹¹⁶ LMA/SBL/0365-326, 28 April 1885: the style of the report in the minutes is revealing, rather like a naughty school boy caught stealing biscuits Officers Murphy and Hyatt 'promised to carry out the instructions of the Committee'.

¹¹⁷ A sample weekly average food cost from May 1889 shows that the Officers with 11/0 $\frac{1}{4}$ and the boys with 2/6, from November 1889 that the Officers had 10/10 $\frac{3}{4}$ and the boys 3/1: LMA/SBL/0367-149, 14 May 1889; LMA/SBL/0367-219, 19 November 1889, respectively.

3.2.1.3 *The Inmates' Mess*

The Inmates' Mess was designed as a utilitarian space. One hundred and ten feet long, the room consisted of collections of wooden stools and linoleum covered wooden tables grouped together as 'messes', each mess seating around fourteen boys.¹¹⁸ Utensils were functional, including simple mess kettles¹¹⁹ and bare white basins.¹²⁰ The entire deck, like the Sleeping Deck below, was walled by the bare iron sides of the ship until 1890.¹²¹ Boys were 'piped' to dinner, proceeding in a regimented fashion from their various places on ship to stand around their chairs:

As Captain Scriven ... gave the order to "pipe to dinner," and the scream of the boatswain's whistle rang through the ship, the 160 lads who were on board came down at high speed from the school to the mess-deck, found each his mess-table, and stood up to join in singing grace, accompanied by the harmonium.¹²²

During meals, as during the night on the Sleeping Deck, talking was allowed provided it was in a low voice and between boys in close proximity. Despite the cold calculations of the Home Office 'dietary tables' that had to be adhered to, there was room for pleasant culinary experiences. 'Sea pie', mentioned as a boys' favourite by a number of sources, was evidently popular. Requests for it to be 'protected' from any impending dietary alterations appear repeatedly, somewhat incongruously, amid the more serious matters in the SMC minutes. For all its utility, the Inmates' Mess was designed to be in some sense 'homely'. The march in to the room quickly gave way to conversation with a small group of friends.

By December 1883, the *Shaftesbury* had become so over-crowded that a Government Inspector 'considered that too many boys slept' on the Orlop

¹¹⁸ *Illustrated London News*, 14 December 1878.

¹¹⁹ *Illustrated London News*, 14 December 1878.

¹²⁰ LMA/SBL/0363-213, 27 May 1879: '100 white basins, for Boys' messes, at 3s. per doz.'

¹²¹ SMCM-SBL-0367-183, 16 July 1889: as will be discussed below, the condensation formed on these iron sides was considered as source of illness for the inmates.

¹²² *Daily News*, 25 March 1879.

Deck.¹²³ The solution suggested by Scriven was to remove some of the iron hammock fittings from the School Deck and place them in the Mess Deck.¹²⁴ The move will have altered the perception of the Mess Deck, particularly for those fifty¹²⁵ or so boys who knew that they ate their evening meals there only to return to it a few hours later. Despite, or perhaps because of, the kitchen smells and noises, the Mess Deck may have been a comforting place for inmates to sleep. The appearance of hammocks led to some changes to the space. Firstly, in 1889, the Mess Deck had the internal and external sections of its slop chute re-designed.¹²⁶ The second was that the deck had its iron sides painted with non-conducting paint in the mid-1890s to stop condensation forming during the winter months. This latter measure, first suggested by the MacDonald Report into the ship's ventilation in 1889, was initially ignored due to cost.¹²⁷ As the Sleeping Deck's sides were insulated following the report, and the School Deck was planked, the Mess Deck remained for a number of years the only permanent sleeping space on board not fit-for-purpose according to professional naval and medical opinion.¹²⁸ The imagined threat of rheumatism and disease from the damp conditions made the space perhaps a little too homely for inmates arriving from unsanitary living environments.

3.2.1.4 *The Galley*

The Galley, which supplied meals to both the Officers' and the Boys' Messes, was one of the busiest smaller rooms on ship, with a team of Galley Boys chosen

¹²³ LMA/SBL/0365-143, 13 November 1883: in fact, the report mentions 'lower deck', but this must have referred to the Orlop Deck, as the actual lower deck would be the Mess Deck, where boys were moved to as part of the solution.

¹²⁴ LMA/SBL/0365-143, 13 November 1883.

¹²⁵ LMA/SBL/0365-144, 11 December 1883: the SMC agrees to fund provision for 50 boys on the Mess Deck, and Scriven includes the cost of altering the old fittings alongside those of buying new ones. From the Newspaper accounts, it seems likely that each Class Room held about 25 hammocks.

¹²⁶ LMA/SBL/0367-157, 25 May 1889.

¹²⁷ LMA/SBL/0367-225, 3 December 1889.

¹²⁸ LMA/SBL/0367-252, 17 December 1889. The SMC Minutes are opaque on the decision making process, and suggest a decision was taken higher up in the administration of the Board.

to assist the Cook on a permanent basis. The *Illustrated London News* notes that the galley was 'very complete, with a cool larder and store-room for bread.' In 1879, the *Daily News*, following a discussion of the large central bath in the lavatory, says that the galley is on 'an equally perfect scale,' and is 'fitted with apparatus for roasting and boiling, and steam closets, in which the sea-pie – the favourite of the boys – is cooked.' By Oct 1888, the company who fitted out the Galley a decade earlier, Wotner Smith, Gray & Co, had to be called in owing to the worsening state of the equipment. Their report paints a worrying picture of conditions for those working in the Galley. Ovens were 'partly burned through', brickwork flues needed to be 'overhauled', and the conditions seem especially hot and dangerous:

The whole range is fixed on an iron base about 8ft. square, and this base with the great heat from the fires and the dampness from the overflowing of the coppers and also the ashpan, has 'eaten' through, and...there was a hole in the base about 20" square (It was made good with cement when we examined the range) The moisture therefore now comes through this bottom plate, soaks through the concrete underneath, and drips into the cabins on the deck below.¹²⁹

The Galley was one of only a few designated places on board where fire was allowed and the danger here is not a modern projection.¹³⁰ Any boy on board faced with cast-iron frontage of the 'galley fire' would have known this.¹³¹ Some of the *Shaftesbury's* staff members had survived the fire that destroyed the *TS Goliath*, near where the *Exmouth* was moored, only a few years before.¹³² On the *Shaftesbury*, even the gas lights were in locked cases. Extra smoke funnels were fitted in the early 1890s as part of the post-MacDonald Report alterations to the ship, although the more radical ventilation suggestions for the mess deck

¹²⁹ LMA/SBL/0367-42, 2 October 1888.

¹³⁰ *Daily News*, 25 March 1879: the *Daily News* suggests two (the Galley and the Stoking Room in the Hold) but the MacDonald Report references a fire in the Captain's quarters.

¹³¹ LMA/SBL/0364-257, 4 April 1882.

¹³² In December 1875 the *Goliath* 'caught fire and in less than an hour was burnt to the water line with the loss of one officer and 19 boys.': Barry Barnes, Forward, in Benson, *Where the bad boys go*; also, Benson, p. 21.

remained ignored. In addition, the dangerous conditions and pressures to deliver food on time also made the Galley a metaphorically 'heated' place to work.



Figure 21: The *Shaftesbury*'s Cook and Galley Boys (c. 1895).

As with the rooms dedicated to Tailoring and, later, Shoemaking, the Galley constituted the special base of a sub-culture amongst the boys. Excused from the part of the time-table dedicated to 'training for sea', the Galley Boys were perhaps the most pressured and noticeable of the 'Trade Boys'. Unlike the other trades, Galley work was essentially shift work that produced a product enjoyed instantly by other inmates. The informality in the surviving photograph of the Cook with Galley Boys in *Figure 21* suggests a level of camaraderie gained through grueling work. Somewhat controversially, the boys did not exit with any official qualification or certificate. There remained a suspicion on the Industrial

Schools Committee - detectable in the 1895 DCRIC interrogations of Scriven - that the channeling of boys into uncertified kitchen and tailoring 'duties' was ill considered and expedient.

3.2.1.5 *The Carpentry and Band Instrument Rooms*

To the fore of the Galley were the Carpentry Room and Band Instrument Room. Like the 'Tailoring Shop', these were ubiquitous on training ships, and, although they operated somewhat like the Galley, they housed trades of financial importance to the ship. In both cases, the rooms were offices or stores for trades practiced elsewhere. The Carpentry Room housed the tools of the trade, both for the carpentry work on ship and the boys' occasional carpentry lessons (such as the making of model boats). The article in *Chums* notes that 'whittling' was a popular hobby for boys aboard¹³³ which, as boys below petty officer rank were prohibited from personal ownership of knives,¹³⁴ is likely to have been done using carpenter's tools. There is no evidence that, like the *Mars* or many other training ships, the *Shaftesbury* inmates made items for sale to the general public. The Band Instrument Room, perhaps occasionally used for individual tuition, was primarily a storage facility for the ship's large number of instruments. These constituted some of the most expensive items on ship. The maintenance costs, as well as the initial purchase price, of keeping a band of around forty-five in working order was considerable. Fortunately for the ship, the Band proved to be profitable. The bands actual practice room was situated in the Hold.

¹³³ *Chums*, p. 452.

¹³⁴ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 149: Scriven defends the prohibition against the suggestion that even the pupils at 'Charterhouse, Eton or elsewhere' are allowed knives.

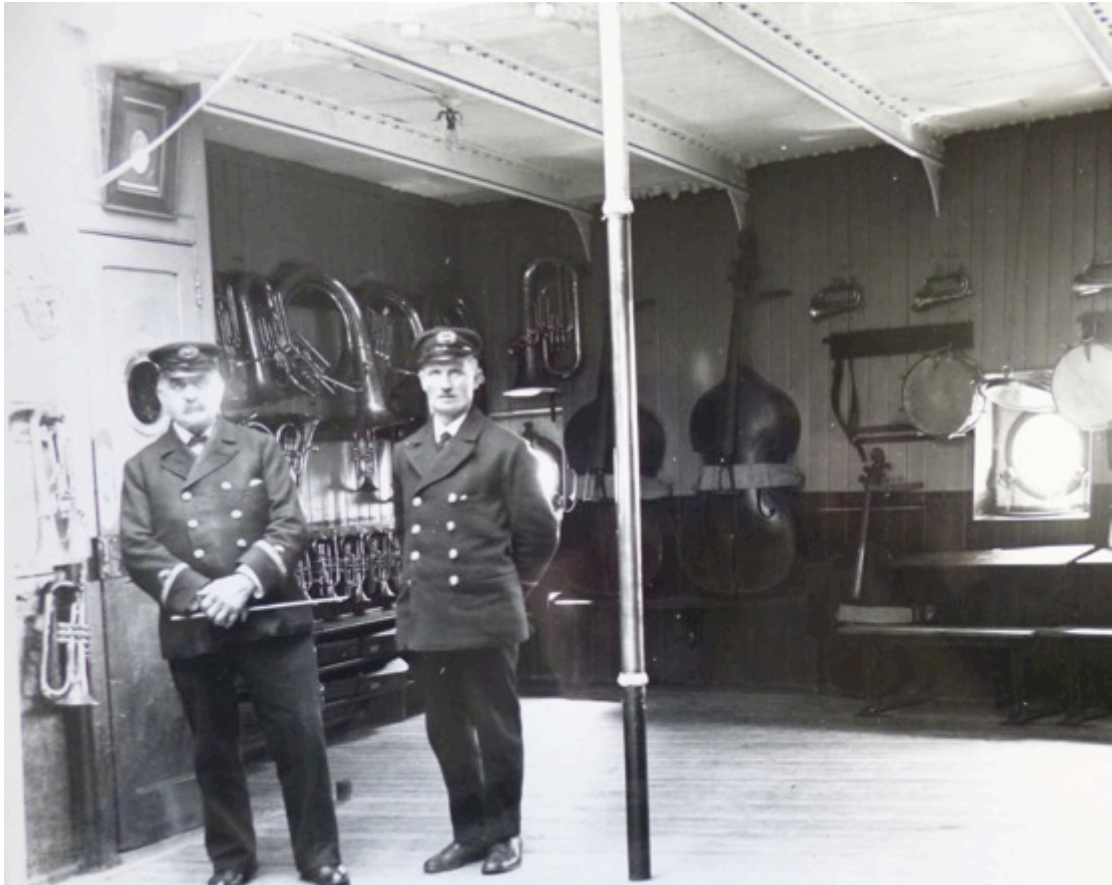


Figure 22: The *Exmouth*'s paneled Music Room, c. 1930. The *Shaftesbury*'s band rooms would have looked very similar.

The Band Instrument Room would have looked very similar to *Figure 22*, a comparable room on the *Exmouth*. The paneled walls were not solely decorative. They offered sound-insulation, and a more forgiving surface to tie instruments to than the plain iron hull. (Despite the heavy, stationary mooring of the *Shaftesbury*, it was still subject to movement upon the river.) The Band spaces contained the most important and unorthodox inmate-staff subculture on the ship. Being a member of the Band offered inmates a passport to a career in the Services, the opportunity to travel to exciting places (often with culinary rewards), and a level of financial independence through wages. They played

everywhere from private functions that treated them to lemonade to the Albert Hall.¹³⁵ By the early 1880s, the Band's success as a commercial venture meant that the SMC decided to take over the responsibility for deciding which bookings should be agreed to, and also succeeded, after a bitter fight with Scriven, in reducing the Band members' wages.¹³⁶ Ex-Colonel Prendergast, when head of the SMC, spent a great deal of personal energy and effort placing a much respected ex-Army band-leader at the head of the ship's Band. Whether Band members were walking into the pleasantly paneled surroundings of the Instrument Room, or the cacophonous depths of the Practice Room, they were entering a 'closed' space that offered them more opportunities, freedoms and valued training than any other on ship.

3.2.2 The Sleeping or Orlop Deck

Around 200ft of the Sleeping Deck was given over to a long, single dormitory, with the rest of the space occupied by officer's cabins to the fore, and officers' cabins and steerage to the aft. In 1890, the SMC introduced shoemaking as a 'trade' option that could be learnt by boys not suited to sea. Scriven was given an allowance of up to £100 to make alterations to the Sleeping Deck in order to provide a Shoemaking Room. This was almost certainly to the fore of the deck.

For the first eleven years on its existence the Sleeping Deck was walled by the bare iron sides of the ship,¹³⁷ accommodated all the ship's inmates on bedsteads made from 'galvanized piping' obtained from the same company that fitted the gas piping.¹³⁸ Rather in the manner of a 'camp bed', canvas, obtained from The Home in the East Reformatory, was stretched out over the light, inexpensive frames.¹³⁹ The beds were simple, although perhaps luxurious compared to the

¹³⁵ SCHOOL BOARD FOR LONDON. *The Morning Post*, 30 October 1893, p. 2.

¹³⁶ LMA/SBL/0367-215, 5 November 1889.

¹³⁷ LMA/SBL/0367-183, 16 July 1889.

¹³⁸ *Illustrated London News*, 14 December 1878.

¹³⁹ LMA/SBL/0363-212, 13 May 1879.

traditional hammock. Each was equipped with bolsters¹⁴⁰ and bed rugs¹⁴¹ suggesting that some semblance of homeliness. One of the most important changes brought by the move to fixed beds, however, lay not upon but under them. Scriven's told the DCRIC in 1895 that boys were allowed to keep personal possession aboard – such as hobby objects or toys – in bags:

- [Q:] Where are their bags?
- [Scriven:] Under the beds.
- [Q:] Are they accessible at all times of day readily?
- [Scriven:] At stated times.
- [Q:] Would you say two or three times a day?
- [Scriven:] Yes.
- [Q:] He could get, for instance, a ball that he wanted when he was going to play?
- [Scriven:] A boy can always go to his bag and get a ball by asking permission...if they have anything in their bag and they want it out of their bag, they have simply to go to an officer and ask permission, and it is granted. If they want to write a letter at any other time than the usual letter-writing day, they simply have to ask.¹⁴²

The *Shaftesbury's* bedsteads were the first time reformatory or industrial training ship inmates were offered such homely areas of personal space. Like other training ships, the *Shaftesbury* allotted inmates lockers, primarily for storing the extensive 'sea kit' that boys were issued with upon arrival.¹⁴³ The bedsteads, unlike hammocks that were taken down during the day, allowed the inmates to occupy a permanent spatial field from the deck floor to ceiling. Even before the ship outgrew the number of bedsteads available, hammocks were not entirely banished from the ship: somewhat ironically, fifty could be hung from

¹⁴⁰ LMA/SBL/0363-212, 13 May 1879: 100 ordered

¹⁴¹ LMA/SBL/0365-217, 25 Mar 1884: 200 ordered.

¹⁴² DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 150, l. 5504-5508.

¹⁴³ Wooden lockers were extremely expensive items as the initial *Shaftesbury* accounts testify. The minutes for 8 February 1881 shows that Scriven submitted plans to use converted gasoline drums to store boys clothing in as a way of avoiding the cost of buying extras for boys' personal or 'kit' storage.¹⁴³

fittings in the Class Rooms and were used as rewards for older boys¹⁴⁴ (They were also used on both the ship's tenders).

Early contemporary accounts frame the deck as a modern, institutional-style space. The descriptions seemed remarkably unship-like. Not only were there no hammocks, but the space was also well lit and observed, as the *London Illustrated News* reported:

The supervision kept over the boys is very complete. Three officers keep watch in turn, and lights are kept burning all night – under lock and key, of course, to prevent any attempt at dangerous “larking” in the farther recesses of an apartment two hundred feet in length.’¹⁴⁵

‘Dangerous larking...’, to a readership familiar with reports of the grim anarchy of the lower decks on prison hulks, hinted at dark violence and sexuality. The message of the Sleeping Deck’s initial design – its dormitory style, its constant observation – was in stark contrast to the old fashioned façade of the ship. When it came to basic welfare, the architects of the *Shaftesbury* were willing to give up the ‘wooden-wall’ façade. Yet, as the years progressed, the carefully designed sleeping arrangements described in the *Daily News* and *Illustrated London News* articles – both written when the ship was substantially under populated - proved unsustainable.

By July 1884, Scriven complained that the ‘sleeping deck was *still* overcrowded’ and asked for the supply of ‘hammock fittings for the mess deck for 50 boys’.¹⁴⁶ Up until this point hammocks had been objects of sentimentality and fun, providing inmate Petty Officers with ‘boys’ own’ experiences. The *Shaftesbury* had turned to a quick-fix maritime solution to an institutional design issue. The situation came to a head in 1889 when scores of boys came down with ‘granular lids’, a highly infectious eye disease that could lead to blindness. The deck had become so overcrowded that it was viewed by the Captain and medical staff as, literally, a hazard to health.¹⁴⁷ The use of ventilation as a way to discuss

¹⁴⁴ *Illustrated London News*, 14 December 1878.

¹⁴⁵ *Daily News*, 25 March, 1879.

¹⁴⁶ *Italics added*. LMA/SBL/0365-255, 22 July 1884.

¹⁴⁷ LMA/SBL/0367-155, 28 May 1889.

more general, endemic health issues on the ship is discussed later in this thesis. In accordance with the other amendments to improve ventilation in 1889, the Sleeping Deck received 8 hinged scuttles (portholes), and a 'shaft open at top from beam to beam with [a] 12 inch hinged sash of ¼ inch glass.'¹⁴⁸ More significantly, the iron sides of the ships were painted with 'granulated cork paint' in 1890¹⁴⁹ to prevent the heavy condensation in winter linked to 'baneful effects upon the boys'.¹⁵⁰ The modifications did little to address the issues of overcrowding, nor, apparently, issues arising from an inadequate inmates' urinal on the deck. Instead, a further quantity of inmates moved from the bedsteads on the Sleeping Deck to new hammocks on the Mess Deck at a cost of over £12 for fittings.¹⁵¹ Before long, with managers trying to keep Sleeping Deck occupancy to just 200 inmates, the majority of boys would be sleeping on the Mess and School Decks on hammocks packed away during the day. Scriven's testimony about boys' bags to the DCRIC applied only to the lucky minority. It is unlikely that boys on the Mess and School Decks would be allowed room in such busy spaces to store and access bags of personal belongings. By the late 1880s, with just over 400 inmates using facilities allegedly designed for 500, no visitor at night could have thought the ship modern, light, spacious, or airy.¹⁵² For the inmates, if not for the Officers, sleeping arrangements on the *Shaftesbury* had become more in keeping with its 'wooden-wall' façade.

3.2.3 *The Hold*

The Hold was effectively the *Shaftesbury*'s basement. On top of the tons of concrete poured into the ship's bottom were fitted a number of rooms, divided into segments by four water-tight bulkheads.¹⁵³ Beginning at the imposing stern moorings and moving towards the fore, there were a series of store-rooms

¹⁴⁸ LMA/SBL/0367-157, 28 May 1889.

¹⁴⁹ LMA/SBL/0367-261, 28 January 1890.

¹⁵⁰ LMA/SBL/0367-183, 16 July 1889.

¹⁵¹ LMA/SBL/0367-169, 28 May 1889.

¹⁵² There were 407 inmates on board on 28 May 1889, the period when the ventilation reached crisis point: LMA/SBL/0367-153.

¹⁵³ *Illustrated London News*, 14 December 1878.

containing: apparatus and victuals, huge reserve water tanks and a coal store holding hundreds of tons of coal. There followed a boiler room, drying rooms and the Band Practice Room. The MacDonald Report in 1889 made it clear that the Hold was using the two entry hatchways as its only form of ventilation. A recommended scheme to use one of the hollow metal masts as a vent never came to fruition. The journey down to the Hold was into noise, heat, humidity and coal dust, although this was not necessarily symbolic of a move 'down' in status. The *Daily News* noted that, in contrast to the harmonium that sat proudly on the School Deck, 'musical instruction on the more martial and noisier instruments, such as bugle and drum, is confined to the band-room in the lower regions.'¹⁵⁴ There is perhaps something in this as, in 1883, the company responsible for the maintenance of band instruments increased its rate by a third due to damage done by 'inexperienced hands'.¹⁵⁵ Yet 'confined' is the wrong word to use about such a privileged sub-culture of the ship, regardless of their tunefulness when practicing. To work in the Hold was not akin to being banished to a basement. Whilst the aesthetically inclined Boiler Room Stoker was a figure of oxymoronic fun in the poem that began this thesis, the switch from gas to electric lighting greatly increased the standing of the stoker and mechanics that laboured on the new centralized system from the Hold. From the early 1890s, there were no 'Alpha' machines whirring under camouflage on the Awning Deck and lighting was powered with electricity produced by the steam from two new boilers in the Hold. The *Mars* industrial training ship may have been the first to have been fitted with electric lighting,¹⁵⁶ but the new system was still unusual and encouraged many VIPs and interested parties to visit the stoker's workplace.

The drying rooms, which utilized heat produced in the nearby boiler room, were vital to the health of the ship. Despite the central heating system of warm air pipes that wove their way around all decks, the *Shaftesbury* existed through a

¹⁵⁴ *Daily News*, 25 March, 1879.

¹⁵⁵ LMA/SBL/0365-73, 3 April 1883: from £20 to £30, although the final rate was bartered down by the SMC.

¹⁵⁶ LMA/SBL/0367-219, 19 November 1889: the *Shaftesbury* was in correspondence with the *Mars* regarding the expense and efficacy of their system.

number of extraordinarily cold winters, including that of 1895 shown in *Figure 23*. According to the pre-germ theory medical opinion, the ability to effectively dry boys' kit, after being washed or exposure to the elements, could guard against diseases caused by cold and damp such as pneumonia. The journeys to and from the drying room were rituals about far more than laundry, but confirmations of the supremacy of the ship's engineering and organization over the elements that raged about its bows.



Figure 23: Postcard showing the *Shaftesbury* during one of the many extreme winters it endured (1895).

Conclusion: ‘the Ladies’ Model School-board Training Shipping’?

The journey through the material world of the *Shaftesbury* that we have just taken challenges the suggestion that instances of domestic luxury on the *Shaftesbury* were linked to the operations of women. It was never, by any standards, a ‘female’ ship. From Robsonian design features that echoed the airiness of middle-class domestic spaces, to Scriven’s enthusiasm for luxury domestic goods and technologies, the *Shaftesbury*’s unique aesthetic was overwhelmingly created by men. There was something of a hyper-domesticity about all Captains’ Quarters on Victorian training ships, as discussed in chapter two. The initial furnishing of the *Shaftesbury* was in keeping with this tradition. A

pronounced 'sitting room' aesthetic marked the few areas that allowed female presence on ship, which seems linked to their function as ghettos of femininity in mono-culturally masculine spaces. The example of the Deck House illustrates how 'feminine' spaces on the ship often seem designed to contain rather than emit femininity. *Figure 24* shows inmates posed at 'sail-making' in 1903 and was reproduced in *London At School*. Two women – possibly Scriven's wife and daughter - are just visible at the door of the Deck House, shown in *Figure 25*. The Deck House was included in Scriven's list of personal rooms to decorate, and was criticised in the *Morning Post* article cited above for its thirty two feet of luxuriously cushioned seating (£38 8s). Far from representing an attempt to feminise the officers or inmates, it could also be read as a designated outpost for Scriven's wife and daughter in a culture that feared women as corrupting.¹⁵⁷



Figure 24: Inmates posed at 'sail-making for *London At School* (1903).

¹⁵⁷ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p145. Scriven is repeated asked whether the Shaftesbury would benefit – like land-based industrial schools – from having a female presence on board, such as a matron. Scriven's reply that he thought 'a matron would be out of place on board a ship' is designed to answer the general request for female involvement on board the Shaftesbury. Unlike the interviewer, Scriven sees the *Shaftesbury* as culturally a ship rather than an industrial school, and views the presence of women as alien to that culture.

The greatest challenge to taking Lang's complaint seriously, however, comes from who was using the 'luxuries' and why. From the 1880s, areas of the ship were deliberately domesticated as part of Scriven's power struggles with the SMC, not as a result of female influence on the ship. Common symbols of the middle-class home – most dramatically in the case of the 'Dining Room' and the servant signaling system – were deployed during the Captain's material and symbolic 'privatisation' of the ship. It is even possible, given the input Scriven had into the original fitting-up of the *Shaftesbury*, to read the emergence of this hubris in the initial re-fit. From the beginning, Scriven seems to have used the furnishing of his private quarters as a statement. It is unlikely that any of the other industrial training ships visited by Scriven had tried to emulate the furnishing standards found in officer training ships to quite the same degree. A distorted echo of this finds its way to the Officers Mess. Perhaps influenced by Scriven's example, it seems that the officers began to distinguish themselves by a more luxurious staple diet in the meager and often freezing surrounds of their Mess. The SMC cautioned the officers over their small over-spends and scrutinized Scriven's accounts, but still approved large sums spent on furniture, decoration, and facilities, for Scriven's 'private' spaces. It seems likely that Scriven was enabled by the SMC, even after the 'Rug Scandal', as the luxuries of the *Shaftesbury*, like those of the often criticized SBL Offices at Embankment, announced something of the social philosophy and confidence of the Board. The gothic architecture and luxurious offices of the SBL signalled the importance with which it took the education of the London masses; the luxuries of the *Shaftesbury* showed that it valued its officers as much as any officer training ship. The aspersions cast at material artefacts and cultures of the ship such as its rugs, harmonium, china plates and lampshades, can similarly be viewed as responses to the disruption of cultural and symbolic capitals. As Bourdieu has taught us, taste is inseparable from morality, political position, and economic status in the relational, differentiating space of the social. In constructing the *Shaftesbury*, Robson, Scriven and the SMC all stole aesthetic and material practices from the inmates' 'betters'.

Despite the fears expressed in the *Pall Mall Gazette* and elsewhere, the ‘walk-through’ above shows that the general ship, especially that experienced by inmates, was far from corruptively luxurious. For a period of a few years, before conditions degenerated through over-population and wear-and-tear, the *Shaftesbury* did, however, offer inmates a level of space, light and air unprecedented within the training ship tradition, and in keeping with the design principles that underpinned the SBL’s broader school-building project.



Figure 25: Detail from Figure 24 showing two women – likely Scriven’s wife and daughter – in the Deck House.

Chapter Four: Punishments and Reward

Introduction

In the existing literature, industrial schools are frequently portrayed as sites of physical cruelty, operating opaque systems of strict discipline and harsh physical punishments. In this chapter I will assess the *Shaftesbury* against such claims. The first section examines the management of punishment and reward on the *Shaftesbury*, and the chapter proceeds to explore the economic and spatial practices that were used to discipline inmates through reward. A short final section examines the motives and implications of the *Shaftesbury*'s frequent re-location of inmates within an expanded inter-institutional network.

Discussions of excessive or illegal physical punishments in the current literature most commonly focus on the *Wellesley* Industrial School Ship, St Pauls Industrial School and Upton House Truant School, highlighting the inadequacy of management or stakeholders to curtail abusive regimes. Such accounts build upon the work of contemporary campaigners against industrial schools, who used the scandalous practices at the latter two institutions to popularise their more general objections to industrial schools. Benjamin Lucraft's suggestion in 1879 that other SBL members tolerated cruelty at industrial schools only because they 'belonged to another class', and that there 'ought to be an institution for kindness instead of having an institution for cruelty', has echoed down the century and a half since it was written.¹ In 2013, Francesca Ashurst and Couze Venn discuss the 'large, impersonal, brutal, barrack-style institutions' that deprived even destitute children 'of much more than individual freedom or

¹ The *School Board Chronicle*, 26 July 1879, p. 79: in Martin, 'Hard-Headed', p. 196.

parental contact in return for food and shelter'.² John Hurt suggests that 'severe punishment' was one of the methods industrial schools used on inmates to 'eradicate the alleged defects of their characters':

The initial missionary zeal, expressed by such propagandists as Mary Carpenter and Matthew Davenport Hill, never infused the movement as a whole. There can be little doubt that the motives of some management committees were far from altruistic.[...] In the eyes of most, young delinquents were the pariahs of the nation, society's forgotten children, the offspring of the undeserving poor remembered only when news of some scandal erupted.³

The frequency with which accounts of physical mistreatment and torturous conditions appear in the literature as sole motifs of the culture of industrial schools is problematic. Sociological and political histories of schooling have often seemed content to reduce the complex and varied cultures of industrial schools to fit neatly into broader narratives. In a 1999 survey of the industrial school system, Gear laments that

[m]any of the conclusions drawn today as to the discipline in industrial schools are based on sources covering all types of industrial schools. What is frequently not understood by historians is the significance of the different regime that was likely to be run in the truant schools that were meant to be deterrent in nature, compared with industrial schools whose aim was to provide care and reform the child over a long period. Many schools did manage to achieve a good balance in the way they managed the discipline of their schools and changed the will and unruly children that were sent them into self-disciplined and self-reliant members of society.⁴

Challenging these misconceptions, argued Gear, would involve focussing on specific institutions: 'It is apparent, however, that when the histories of individual schools are written, their regime is likely to be seen in a more favourable light than may have been the case'.⁵ As the 'tour' of the *Shaftesbury* offered in the previous chapter demonstrates, not all industrial training ships

² Amhurst and Venn, p151

³ Hurt, *Reformatory and Industrial*, p. 49.

⁴ Gear, p. 183.

⁵ Gear, p. 181.

were as physically basic as the *Clio* School Ship or St Paul's Industrial School.⁶ In more than just architecture, however, the *Shaftesbury* – an institution frequently criticised in its own time for being too lenient and progressive – provides an interesting counterexample to the spartan regime at St Paul's. This chapter aims to challenge existing, and nuance future, discussions of the regimes of industrial school ships, and industrial schools in general, by exploring the use of discipline and reward on the ship.

Section One: The Management of Punishment

As Gear has suggested, there were considerable concerns around the issues of discipline and punishment in industrial schools during my research period. The guidance laid out in the 1866 Industrial Schools Act was designed to protect children from regimes based solely upon summary corporal punishment. Punishments, according to the Section 29 of the Act, should only be administered with a Superintendent present (or by a Schoolmaster in the schoolroom), should be recorded in a punishment book, and should be balanced by a system of 'rewards and encouragements'. On the *Shaftesbury* a stringent set of rules limiting punishments available to staff were laid down before the ship had opened. The initial Rules and Regulations agreed between the Home Office and SBL were that:

The Captain-Superintendent shall have power to punish boys under his charge by deprivation of privileges, or by degradation from their place in the Ship, by solitary confinement in a light cell, or by partial stoppage of rations, or by corporal punishment; but such corporal punishment shall not exceed eighteen strokes⁷ with a birch or cane; no corporal punishment to be inflicted except in the presence of the Captain-

⁶ Even within the single category of industrial training school ships there was enough diversity to challenge reductions of their architecture to 'barrack-style' or, for that matter, ship-style (if one considers the odd looking *Havannah* at Cardiff).

⁷ 24th Sept 1878, p110L lowered to 12 strokes before Shaftesbury opened.

Superintendent...No boy shall be kept in confinement for more than three days, except by a special order of the Ship Committee.⁸

In 1893, the Board sought to 'reconstruct' the Rules of its three industrial schools to bring them into more 'conformity' with one another.⁹ The responsibilities for corporal punishment became complicated by divisions – not clearly defined – between 'personal punishment' for 'less serious offences' and 'personal chastisement'. The former, consisted of up to six strokes to the palm of the hand with the 'school cane'; the latter 'whipping...inflicted on the posterior with a birch rod or an ordinary school cane'.¹⁰ As Middleton suggests, corporal punishment in schools remained broadly consistent (though often contested) from the period of the SBL through to the 1940s.¹¹ In 1889, the failure of a landmark case brought against a teacher for corporal punishment paved the way for teacher-administered caning of the hand to become the standard school punishment – or 'encouragement' – for the next half-century.¹² The 1893 division of corporal punishment into two categories suggests that the Head Schoolmaster of the *Shaftesbury* was already issuing unsupervised punishments on the school deck. The wording of the 1881 Home Office circular on punishment shows that this was a provision allowed to industrial schools. At least up to 1895, however, Scriven noted that although 'the head schoolmaster has asked for the privilege...the committee have not yet given it to him'.¹³ Interestingly, the SMC was more cautious than the Home Office or SBL with regard to caning. This may have been the direct result of lack of trust in the Head Schoolmaster 'who was

⁸ SBL-0363-21b 9th April 1878, Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Training-ship "*Shaftesbury*", Article 5

⁹ 7th February 1893, Cite -p129:

¹⁰ LMA/SBL/0369-127, 7 February 1893. During Scriven's testimony from 5 December 1895 recorded in DCRIC: II, he avoided giving exact specifications as to the different offences categorised as 'serious', or whether such seriousness changed the nature of the punishment.

¹¹ Jacob Middleton, 'The Experience of Corporal Punishment in Schools, 1890-1940', *History of Education*, 37:2 (2008), pp. 253-275.

¹² Middleton, p. 254.

¹³ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152, l. 5595

not exactly the right sort of man'¹⁴ and even without permission occasionally caned boys himself (as discussed below). Indeed, by the time the Rules were further simplified and revised in 1899, the new Head Schoolmaster was merely required to enter the corporal punishments issued into both the Punishment and School Log Books, with canning re-classified as 'personal correction'.¹⁵ Within institutional contexts we are used to thinking of discipline as set rules and regulations, but the SMC appears to have negotiated between standard guidance and the personalities of those authorised to issue punishment in an attempt to protect inmates from an overly punitive regime.

Ironically, the practical effect of removing caning of the hand as a punishment option was to push all corporal punishments into the more serious 'personal chastisement' category. Indeed, Scriven's testimony in 1895 suggests there was no internal distinction between minor and serious cases of corporal punishment, any division being *post-hoc* when the Inspector 'looks through the punishment book and he distinguishes between the serious cases and the others'.¹⁶ Practically, however, there does appear to have been divisions as punishment was delivered by 'birch for the very serious offences, but as a rule the cane' (both administered over the trousers).¹⁷ Differentiation also came in the form of the number or strength of stroke:

- [Q:] Do you often give 12 [strokes]?
- [Scriven:] Very seldom – only for serious offences; we usually give two or three or four...[n]ot very hard if it is a small boys; the man knows pretty well how to lay it on...[i]f it is a regular big bullying boy who has been brought before me for ill-treating and injuring another boy, then of course he gets it as warm as we can lay it on.¹⁸

¹⁴ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152, l. 5605. There appears to have deep resentment of Hyatt in the SMC, not just over his teaching abilities. Following his dismissal by the SMC, Scriven had to provide testimony in a case in which Hyatt stood accused of theft.

¹⁵ LMA/SBL/0370-328, 1 February 1899.

¹⁶ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 151, l. 5560.

¹⁷ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152, l. 5610-11.

¹⁸ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152, l. 5613-15.

Despite this, the *Shaftesbury* succeeded in creating procedures that protected inmates from hasty or ‘angry’ beatings.¹⁹ Scriven delegated much of the procedure of punishment to the ‘Master-at-Arm’, the officer ‘in charge of the mess deck’:

He keeps the punishment return, that is to say, if a boy is placed in the report, his name is given to this officer, and this officer brings the boy’s name to me every morning on a form; I inquire into the case and hear evidence for and against the boy. The boy is allowed to defend himself and then I write the punishment myself, if punishment is necessary, and it goes into the office and is recorded in the punishment book.²⁰

The Master-At-Arms was the only staff member ever to inflict punishment, always in the presence of Scriven, and to the exact stroke count previously decided. In contrast to other industrial school ships, the punishment took place in ‘private’, albeit ‘in the presence of the other defaulters’ outside the Captain’s office.²¹ The concession was attributable not to Scriven’s pedagogy, but to the fact that when large numbers were assembled to watch punishments the staff were subject to insults shouted anonymously by inmates.²² It would perhaps be too much to call such a regime ‘progressive’ in the modern sense, but the incorporation of so many safeguards into the practice of corporal punishment is at odds with standard historical narratives on industrial school, and school ship, discipline.

Corporal punishment was by no means the only option available to staff. Confinement ‘in a light cell’ for up to three days remained a standard punishment option, although in later revisions food allocations for inmates in the cell were increased from half to a full pound of bread in addition to their gruel or milk and water.²³ There is little evidence of this being used on the *Shaftesbury*, however.

¹⁹ As Gear reminds us, the 1866 Act recommended ‘an overnight cooling off period..to safeguard against undue punishment in haste, passion, or mistake’: Gear, p168

²⁰ DCRIC, II: Scriven’s testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152

²¹ DCRIC, II: Scriven’s testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152, l. 5616

²² DCRIC, II: Scriven’s testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152, l. 5616

²³ LMA/SBL/0369-128, 7 February 1893: To which Davenport-Hill added ‘not less than one pint’ in front of the word ‘gruel’ in the dietary specifications in

Despite the requirement stated in the 1878 Regulations, for example, it was not until March 1881 that Scriven notified the committee that he had been 'obliged' to make a cell on board.²⁴ 'Reduction in quality or quantity of food' was another option available to punish for 'simple offences'.²⁵ Boys could be deprived of a meal – never two in succession – or 'that portion of the meal which renders it most agreeable'.²⁶ The physical demands on ship meant that even in such circumstances boys were still to be offered 'eight ounces of bread, with water or gruel, when deprived of any regular meal'.²⁷ Administering these punishments was envisaged as a 'correctional' act. For those inmates for whom such punishments appeared 'inadequate' the SMC had the option to transition the boy into a reformatory. Up until 1899, prison was a mandatory first step for boys entering a reformatory, so inmates were sent before a Magistrate on specific charges and received gaol time (often with corporal punishment as well) in addition to the transfer.²⁸ From 1899 the process of 'demotion' appears easier for all concerned. No initial prison sentence was required and although the SMC had to apply for an Order of Detention to a reformatory by appearing in front of Country Justices, there is no indication in the Minutes of the SMC's requests ever being refused.²⁹ The 1896 Departmental Committee Report on Reformatory and Industrial Schools was partly responsible for making the removal of inmates to a reformatory school easier, although its removal of the mandatory gaol sentence for reformatory school entry was never meant to have this result. During his testimony Scriven described the type of inmate thought transferable as 'a boy who is not amenable to our discipline at all, and who is always getting into trouble and perhaps is insubordinate' adding that the last boy sent to a

1893 and was approved. Also, further improvements: LMA/SBL/0370-328, 1 February 1899.

²⁴ This appears to have been in accordance with a general feeling in more progressive industrial schools that cells were an excessively punitive form of punishment. See Gear, p. 176

²⁵ LMA/SBL/0369-127, 7 February 1893.

²⁶ LMA/SBL/0369-128, 7 February 1893.

²⁷ LMA/SBL/0369-128, 7 February 1893.

²⁸ Gear, p. 217.

²⁹ LMA/SBL/0370-328, 1 February 1899.

reformatory from the ship had 'struck an officer'.³⁰ The *Shaftesbury* had a reputation for only admitting, and keeping, boys that were manageable or came from less troublesome parents. Inmates who had received other punishments without showing signs of improvement were often moved to reformatories. In February 1899, for example, a routine examination of the ship's Punishment Book revealed to the Sub Committee 'that a boy named Hebburn had been punished on several occasions' prompting them to put the boy on warning of being 'sent to a Reformatory'.³¹ Such moves were profoundly opposed to the spirit of the 1896 Report, and Scriven was asked directly whether it was 'not a frightful punishment to be deprived of three years of liberty' at a reformatory for boys sentenced to the ship for often trivial matters.³² Whilst the 1896 Report was looking beyond the private world of the ship, towards issues of structural and systemic violence, the SMC appears to have seen such transfers as a way of breaking the cycle of routinely issuing corporal punishment to the same offenders, and the brutalizing effect this had on both the inmates and the private culture of the ship.

Despite casting a long shadow over the history of industrial schools, the scandals at St Paul's and Upton House mentioned in the introduction led the Home Office to re-state its commitment to 'humane' punishment regimes. As Hurt notes, Vernon Harcourt, Home Secretary from April 1880 to June 1885, was also personally motivated to intervene against what he saw as the systemic cruelties of the industrial school system. There is evidence of Harcourt's reaction to the St Paul's scandal in the SMC Minutes. In November 1881, as the scandal was breaking, Harcourt instructed the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools to write to the SMC and other providers

To impress on you the imperative obligation which, in his opinion, lies on Committees of Managers of Reformatory and Industrial Schools, to exercise personal vigilant supervision, in order to secure that the inmates

³⁰ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 153, l. 5630.

³¹ LMA/SBL/0370-333, 15 February 1899.

³² DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 153, l. 5641.

should in all respects be properly and humanely treated, and that whilst discipline is enforced, kindness should be the rule of the School.³³

The tragedy of St Pauls thus ushered in an era in which a new importance was placed on transparency by the Home Office: punishments must be 'kept within reasonable and legal bounds, and faithfully recorded in a book kept for the purpose', management committees should meet once a month and keep minutes, weekly 'visitors' should be appointed to report to the ISC, returns of members present and minutes should be duplicated to the HM Inspector. In fact, similar measures had already been adopted on the *Shaftesbury* in the years since the Regulations were drawn up, but the message was clear. The managers of the *Shaftesbury* were themselves to be monitored more closely. The most substantial parts of the letter are dedicated to 'enforcing a strict record of all offenses and punishments in the book which is kept for the purpose, including minor punishments inflicted by the Head Teacher'.³⁴ Each month a copy of the entries were to be 'placed in a conspicuous position on the wall of the schoolroom', and not removed until after the annual visit of the Inspector. The idea, however, met with some resistance. The request to display – rather than keep record – of punishments could not be legally enforced.³⁵ The *Shaftesbury* was one of the institutions to politely refuse the request. The measure, the SMC argued, would be 'cruel' as it would keep 'alive the memory of an offence' long after it had been resolved, and may also act as point of 'bravado' for boys to boast about offences recorded so publically.³⁶ Other attempts installing new data-capture procedures in late 1881 were more successful. Most notably, originating from within the SBL, a resolution confirmed that year ordered:

That it is desirable that, at the expiration of eighteen months after a child is sent to an Industrial School, the Industrial Schools Committee should

³³ Letter dated 18 November 1881, recorded in LMA/SBL/0364-175, 10 January 1882.

³⁴ Letter dated 18 November 1881, recorded in LMA/SBL/0364-176, 10 January 1882.

³⁵ Hurt, 'Reformatory and Industrial', p. 52.

³⁶ LMA/SBL/0364-195, 24 January 1882.

obtain a report upon the conduct and educational improvement of the child sent at the instance of the Board³⁷

‘Charity’ training ships had always been conceived as an instrument of statistical operation. From Hanway in the late eighteenth century to the Royal Statistical Society in the late nineteenth century their successes were evaluated against general population data: moving surpluses of waifs towards deficits in maritime posts, converting percentages of waste to net contribution. In sharp contrast to the reduction of inmates to ledger statistics in the accounts found in Hanway, the St Paul’s scandal promoted systems of data collection and feedback that sought to safeguard the welfare and development of boys aboard.

The lesson from the *Wellesley* was that such checks and balances could be powerless to prevent abuse if they were not internalised into the private culture of the ship, or managers lacked the will to enforce them. Abuses in the case of both St Pauls Industrial School and the *Wellesley* Industrial School Ship have been linked directly to absent or disinterested management.³⁸ The SMC, however, was keenly interventionist. As discussed in the previous chapter, the SMC held space on board the *Shaftesbury* in the form of the Committee Rooms. Whilst the SMC’s fortnightly meetings were held at the Offices of the Board, from March 1878 a sub-committee was set up to visit the ship at least once a month excluding vacations.³⁹ The sub committee’s position ‘in the field’ meant that its parent Committee used it as a kind of assize, investigating and passing judgement on staff as well as inmates. The Minutes regularly show requests for inmates and officers to be brought before the sub committee at subsequent meetings to account for actions, substantiate reports, or receive reprimands. The targets for the sub committee’s investigations included Scriven, who was held at a distance from it. A decade into his role, Scriven petitioned the SMC that the order of business ‘might be supplied to him before the meetings’ but was denied.⁴⁰

³⁷ LMA/SBL/0364-175, 13 December 1881.

³⁸ Bovill, ‘Education’; Martin, ‘Hard-Headed’.

³⁹ LMA/SBL/0363-19, 26 March 1878.

⁴⁰ LMA/SBL/0367-136, 9 April 1889.

The structure of the SMC meant that decisions on punishments were anything but summary. In February 1882, three boys licensed out 'absconded from the ships on board which they were placed and had left their kits behind them'.⁴¹ The Minutes relating to the sub committee's decision on the case is worth quoting at length as it exhibits something of the democracy and bureaucracy that beset such relatively commonplace cases:

It was moved by Mrs. Westlake, and seconded by Mr. Arthur Mills:- That the boy Bridges be prosecuted. To which an amendment was moved by Mr. White, and seconded by Mr. Edward Jones:- That the boys Beale, Dawson⁴² and Bridges be called before the Sub-Committee and admonished by the Chairman; and that the Captain-Superintendent be authorised to punish them to the full extent allowed by the rules of the ship.

On the amendment being put to the vote, 3 voted for and 2 against it, the Chairman thereupon declared the amendment to be carried, and, on its being put as a substantive motion, it was resolved accordingly.

The boys were then called before the Sub-Committee, and were admonished by the Chairman, the Captain-Superintendent was instructed in accordance with the resolution.⁴³

Gear has argued that the disciplinary culture of industrial schools was shaped by (male) managers who 'had themselves encountered the discipline of the public school and attempted to adapt aspects of its system to industrial schools.'⁴⁴ As we have already seen, this was not the case with the management of the *Shaftesbury*. There remained a strong female, Liberal presence in the Committee Rooms. In his deconstruction of the power relationships of nineteenth-century Carmarthen Gaol, Ireland argues that whilst contemporaneous public narratives of prisons emphasized uniformity of provision, the management of discipline in individual institutions involved 'daily negotiation' between staff and inmates.⁴⁵ Whilst this seems likely on the *Shaftesbury* as well, particularly given the

⁴¹ Recorded in LMA/SBL/0364-227, 7 March 1882,

⁴² See below for an interesting addendum on the case.

⁴³ Recorded in LMA/SBL/0364-227, 7 March 1882.

⁴⁴ Gear, p. 170.

⁴⁵ Ireland, p. 184.

differences in punishments awarded similar crimes (see below), the political divisions on the SMC added the potential for disciplinary decisions and practices to become performative acts in on going power struggles at the SBL.

In reality there was sometimes also a disconnection between the official decisions and sanctions of the SMC and the ship. In the 1882 case of the three absconding boys, for example, the occasional nature of the sub committee meant that by the time its members had spoken to the inmates directly the Captain had already begun administering punishments. This distance between the ship and SBL Offices at Embankment was most noticeable when the SMC was petitioned for urgent assistance. The case of H. Wallace, which appeared in the Minutes in April 1893, shows something of the Captain's power as a 'middleman' between the ship and the Committee. Wallace was a troubled inmate who had gone 'wild' and 'knocked himself about, was beyond control, and had to be confined in a cabin'.⁴⁶ The Minutes entry makes it clear that the Captain tried to press the SMC into action on three separate occasions between the sub committee's fortnightly visits to the ship. He first urgently telegrammed the Committee at the SBL, following it with a letter, before finally submitting an official report to the next SMC meeting. In the initial telegram Scriven requested the boy be removed 'at once'. In the letter that followed he asked that Wallace be 'removed as quickly as possible before he became a dangerous lunatic', and, finally in his appearance before the Committee Scriven noted that after he had been seen by three doctors the 'boy's conduct was now improved'. The sole response from the Committee recorded in the Minutes – that they would endeavour to 'see the boy' at the following fortnightly meeting – suggests something of the distance the Committee chose to keep from the real-time dramas on board the ship. At the subsequent meeting, Wallace was duly seen 'and cautioned as to his conduct',⁴⁷ but the incident illustrates the superficiality of the sub committee's control of the

⁴⁶ LMA/SBL/0369-173, 25 April 1893. It later turned out that Wallace had injured himself during his appearance at Police Court as well.

⁴⁷ LMA/SBL/0369-179, 9 May 1893.

ship. Whilst it retained executive power in financial and administrative terms, the SMC's control was limited by its remove from the real-time world of the ship.

Did this occasional distance between the SMC and the real-time management of the ship lead to illegal punishment? The evidence is that staff members in senior positions – particularly the Medical Officers and Captain – safeguarded the values of the Committee in the day-to-day running of the ship. In May 1884, the Medical Officer reported finding that 'two or three boys had severe bruises, not the result of authorized punishment, or accident, that he had observed similar marks on other occasions.'⁴⁸ An investigation by the sub-committee on board found that the Assistant Carpenter, Mr George, had been guilty of 'inflicting unauthorized punishments'.⁴⁹ George was asked to resign, (after a motion that he be dismissed was beaten 4-2). The Cook, Mr Wood, was also implicated but the committee were persuaded by his contrition. The Medical Officer's role here was in sharp contrast to that on the *Wellesley*, where the medical officer colluded with the captain in experimenting with bizarre punishments and defending them to investigators.⁵⁰ It was also somewhat outside the terms of the regulations regarding medical officers on the ship, which concerned only illness and injury directly.⁵¹ The case of Mr Hyatt, the much-criticised Head Schoolmaster of the ship, remains the only example that invites questions regarding the toleration of illegal punishments. At the close of the 1884 case discussed above, the Committee summoned Hyatt 'and intimated to him that they would expect his co-operation in suppressing all unauthorised punishments in the future'.⁵² The request appears somewhat pointed as, only the previous summer, Hyatt and Scriven had both been reprimanded when the former had 'struck a boy across the should[er] with a pointer'.⁵³ Whilst the 'old

⁴⁸ LMA/SBL/0365-330, 12 May 1885.

⁴⁹ LMA/SBL/0365-331, 12 May 1885.

⁵⁰ Bovill, p. 127.

⁵¹ LMA/SBL/0363-22, 9 April 1878: Rules and Regulations for the Management of the Training-ship "*Shaftesbury*", Article 14. Gear suggests that checking on those that had received corporal punishment was within the Medical Officer's remit, but I have seen no evidence to support this in the case of the *Shaftesbury*.

⁵² LMA/SBL/0365-331, 12 May 1885.

⁵³ LMA/SBL/0365-256, 22 July 1884.

salt' seamen on the ship appear to have been fully subject to the Regulations, the discipline in the schoolroom occasionally appears more opaque. Trouble reared for Hyatt again in April 1889, when an outraged father of a boy 'brutally' struck with a 'heavy stick' by the Schoolmaster notes that he has first written to the Committee to complain but, if the matter is not taken seriously, may 'write to the Members of the School Board, put it in the hands of the Protection Society, write to the papers...'.⁵⁴ In the end, despite Hyatt's confession that he had stuck the boy with a light stick, the schoolmaster kept his job, although he was put on warning of a suspension. Dr Male, the Medical Officer, had saved Hyatt by suggesting that the serious injury the boy developed was more likely the result of rowing or games than the beating.⁵⁵ If there was collusion in the case, it took place in full view of the SMC. Suspicions around Hyatt persisted, but the SMC received frequent complaints from parents based on their children's accounts of life aboard and substantiating accounts proved difficult. If we discount the complex case of Hyatt, however, there is no evidence that distance between the ship and its shore-based management led to unsanctioned punishments, as it did upon the *Wellesley*. Indeed, Hyatt's reputation as the 'wrong sort' was based on his excessive reliance on the official procedures of the ship, with Scriven suggesting that his removal from the ship was directly responsible for a fall in official punishments by fifty per cent.⁵⁶

Although the Punishment Book does not survive, the Minutes and DCRIC Testimony do offer glimpses into the relationship between offenses and punishments that occurred on the ship. In the Minutes, reference to punishments is sometimes given in defence of accusations of cruelty made by parents. In July 1885, for example, J. Manning's father complained to the SMC about the way his son had been treated whilst on board.⁵⁷ In response the SMC presented 'the real state of the case to the parents' offering us a snapshot of crime and punishment on board during the mid 1880s:

⁵⁴ LMA/SBL/0367-142, 30 April 1889.

⁵⁵ LMA/SBL/0367-153, 28 May 1889.

⁵⁶ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152, l. 5597; l. 5607

⁵⁷ LMA/SBL/0365-357, 21 January 1885.

Offences – October 20th, 1884, stealing bread and cheese from gallery; deprived of two good conduct badges for three months. October 31st, 1884, stealing a lanyard from boy W.Grierson; eight strokes with a cane.⁵⁸

The significance of deprivation of ‘good conduct badges’ for a set period and of the stolen lanyard will be discussed in the section to follow. According to Scriven’s 1895 testimony, it appears that Manning’s son was dealt with leniently for his first offence. Asked to define ‘[s]erious cases of corporal punishment’, Scriven offered: ‘I think, for instance, that an act of theft and breaking into a store-room would be considered a serious case.’⁵⁹ The relationship between Manning’s offence and punishment, however, was dependent on the subjective assessment of the context and boy’s character. In fact, there remained no objective criteria created by the Home Office, SMC or Scriven with which to check specific offences against specified punishments, or even grade offences by degree. This accounts for Scriven’s reluctance to provide definition or detailed examples of the relationship between offences and punishments to the DCRIC. When Scriven discusses hearing the ‘case’ and listening to the ‘evidence’ for and against individual punishments he is referring a process of interpretation that included subjectively fitting a punishment to the offence. Official divisions of punishments into ‘minor’ to ‘serious’ cases exist for 1894, the year following Hyatt’s dismissal. Of 226 cases of corporal punishment, 132 were minor and 94 serious cases, although the suggestion is that the division was not present in the Punishment Book but interpreted by the Inspector according to his own criteria.⁶⁰ Scriven himself appears to have classified offences according to the punishment he had decided for it, rather than by classification of the offence, stating simply that a ‘serious offence means a serious punishment’ when probed by the DCRIC. Certainly, ‘[s]ome cases of absconding and attempting to abscond’⁶¹ called to attention by the Inspector for 1894, and the ‘five cases of striking with the knife’⁶² by inmates in the same year would likely receive ‘serious punishment’. Calls for ‘minor’ punishments came from offences such as

⁵⁸ LMA/SBL/0365-357, 21 January 1885.

⁵⁹ DCRIC, II: Scriven’s testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152, l. 5600

⁶⁰ DCRIC, II: Scriven’s testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152, l. 5598-5601

⁶¹ DCRIC, II: Scriven’s testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152, l. 5617

⁶² DCRIC, II: Scriven’s testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152, l. 5621

the ubiquitous chewing and smoking of tobacco by inmates,⁶³ and ‘the acts of petty thefts constantly being perpetrated’⁶⁴ aboard. In the cases of both tobacco use and petty stealing, however, Scriven noted that punishment would not ‘ever suppress it altogether; we can reduce it’.⁶⁵

Section Two: Material Disciplines of the Liberal Subject

Corporal punishment happened routinely on the *Shaftesbury*, but it was not the only method used to control inmates’ behaviour. The revising of the Rules in 1893 and 1899 fore-grounded the ‘[f]orfeiture of rewards and privileges, or degradation from rank, previously attained by good conduct’ as the go-to punishment, placing it as the first letter-point in the discipline section.⁶⁶ By 1899, the sentiment was awarded its own stand-alone paragraph: ‘The discipline of the Ship shall be maintained not only by punishment but by a well considered system of encouragements.’⁶⁷ The changes highlighted the *Shaftesbury*’s commitment to a rewards-based system, although, in fact, the same system had been in place since the ship opened. Good behaviour was rewarded by ‘badges’ that were sewn onto inmates’ uniforms; minor infractions of rules punished with their removal. The badges were not given on the basis of individual acts, but to inmates that had kept themselves out of the Punishment Book for a period of time, although they could be revoked or suspended at any time. A first badge was awarded after the first six months on board, with two more at yearly intervals.⁶⁸ This led to large numbers of inmates holding badges, and badges becoming a

⁶³ DCRIC, II: Scriven’s testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152, l. 5618

⁶⁴ DCRIC, II: Scriven’s testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152, l. 5619

⁶⁵ DCRIC, II: Scriven’s testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152, l. 5620

⁶⁶ LMA/SBL/0369-128, 7 February 1893.

⁶⁷ LMA/SBL/0371-328, 1 February 1899.

⁶⁸ DCRIC, II: Scriven’s testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152, l. 5606

symbol of seniority.⁶⁹ The Board Inspector's Report from 1901-2⁷⁰, when the *Shaftesbury* held 371 inmates, notes the divisions as follows:

Number of boys wearing one G.C. Badge, 151.

Number of boys wearing two G.C. Badges, 72.

Number of boys wearing three G.C. Badges, 21.

Number of Petty Officers, 55.⁷¹

According to *Chums*, there also appears to have been a special 'thief's badge' worn by inmates found guilty of stealing: '[t]his badge, which is made of canvas, he has to wear twenty-four hours, and all are thus apprised of his character'. Perhaps the most significant alteration to the standard uniform that an inmate could achieve were those associated with being rated/dis-rated as a Petty Officer. The privileges awarded the usual '50 or 60' Petty Officers⁷² drawn from inmates were considerable. The promotion followed the acquisition of the three good-conduct badges, and Petty Officers were first in the line when leave was granted as well as receiving a weekly wage for their supervisory duties. Petty Officer status was represented by the taboo object that signified their rank, 'a sailors' knife, with a lanyard' that 'the boys are rather proud of wearing'.⁷³ There were rules against other inmates possessing any sort of knife (let alone displaying it), adding extra weight to the symbolic object. Knives often appeared on board as contraband with severe consequences, and by the sanctioned display of such a taboo item the Petty Officers were showing their moral difference to

⁶⁹ No figures from my period, but in May 1902 the Board Inspector reported 250 out of 371 boys as badge holders: 'Industrial Schools Report on the Training Ship *Shaftesbury*', LMA/SBL/1579.

⁷⁰ There is no comparable data survives from three years earlier, but the ratios of Petty Officers were apparently the same, so figures were probably similar.

⁷¹ *Report of the Training Ship "Shaftesbury" for the Year Ended 25th July, 1902* The School Board for London (London: School Board for London Alexander and Shephard, 1902), p. 7.

⁷² Scriven's estimate as to numbers in DCRIC, II: 5 December 1895, p. 149.

⁷³ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152, l. 6025

the 'roughs' who would, occasionally, stab other inmates with smuggled blades or carve their initials into the ship's wood.⁷⁴

The reward economy of badges incorporated aspects of a real economy. All inmate petty officers were paid, on a scale from 10*d.* to 1*s.* 4*d.* a month. Amongst the Petty Officers were inmates assigned directly to the captain and officers. In April 1885, Scriven placed an 'urgent' order for twelve 'Cabin Boys Kits through the Store Department',⁷⁵ and appears from other comments in the SMC Minutes that the Captain had permanent cabin staff drawn directly from the Petty Officers. Petty Officers would also be asked to help with more general duties around the ship often in a supervisory capacity over other inmates, assisting officers in roles such as Night Watchmen. Hamlett has drawn attention to the encouragement of prefect systems at nineteenth century public schools, where the 'judicious guidance of senior boys would set a good example to their juniors, contributing to their emotional development.'⁷⁶ The *Shaftesbury's* use of the Petty Officer system appears to have incorporated such an ethos. This was not true of all industrial training ships: an official inspection report into the *Wellesley* in 1871 had to recommend that the practice of inmate Petty Officers holding down younger inmates during corporal punishment should be discontinued.⁷⁷ In the main, the *Shaftesbury's* Petty Officers appear as the ship's workhorses, although the decision to pay them proved controversial with the Local Government Board who attempted to halt the payments as a misuse of funds.⁷⁸ In May 1881, the Local Government Board sent a strongly worded letter to Captain Scriven and the SMC calling for the abolishing of 'illegal' payments to inmates, and accordingly stating that costs mounting to £62.2 pounds be struck

⁷⁴ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 152, l. 6026: some stabbings correspondingly appear in the SMC minutes, although I have not found reference to graffiti.

⁷⁵ LMA/SBL/0365-329, 28 April 1885.

⁷⁶ Jane Hamlet, 'Space and emotional experience in Victorian and Edwardian English public school dormitories', in *Childhood, Youth and Emotions in Modern History*, ed by Stephanie Olsen, (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) pp119-138.

⁷⁷ Bovill, 'Education.'

⁷⁸ Correspondence recorded and discussed in LMA/SBL/0364-187/90, 10 January 1882.

from the accounts as unlawful. The SMC was able to call on rules from the Home Office and similar practices at other industrial schools (such as the *Havannah*) in support of its case.⁷⁹ As the Industrial Schools Committee reminded the Local Government Board in November 1881, the statutes that governed the detention of children under the Industrial Schools Act stated that '[t]he discipline of the School shall be maintained not only by punishment but by a well considered system of Rewards and Encouragements' (underlined in original).⁸⁰ Perhaps the *Shaftesbury's* public reputation for excess and expensive progressivism led the Local Government Board to make assumptions. In fact, as the SMC made clear to them, the likes of the Field Lane Industrial School and Commercial Street Boys' Refuge operated similar schemes.⁸¹ Money was never held in private by the boys but was kept in a 'cash box' with the expectation that it would otherwise quickly be spent on tobacco. The payments represented spatial freedom as inmates were allowed access to the funds to pay for sanctioned visits home, or to assist with relatives' expenses to attend visiting days on board.

Most importantly, however, obtaining badges led directly to inmates being awarded more spatial freedom. 'Every Saturday till Sunday evening' 8-10 senior boys with good conduct badges were allowed to leave the ship and visit their families.⁸² Scriven noted that 'the good is that the boys have something to look forward to as a result of good conduct, and our punishment is very much diminished.'⁸³ Frequently, trips awarded to numbers of boys to see friends and family at Easter or Christmas vacations are linked to such 'good-conduct' inmates.⁸⁴ Perhaps most remarkably, inmates with good conduct badges were allowed to 'walk out', or wander into Grays without supervision as 'a privilege'.⁸⁵

⁷⁹ Correspondence recorded and discussed in LMA/SBL/0364-187/90, 10 January 1882.

⁸⁰ LMA/SBL/0364-188, 29 November 1881.

⁸¹ LMA/SBL/0364-188, 29 November 1881.

⁸² DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 151, l. 5557-62

⁸³ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 151, l. 5560

⁸⁴ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 151, l. 5557

⁸⁵ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 151, l. 5546

The *Sydney Herald*, comparing the *Shaftesbury* to its closest antipodean equivalent, noted that ship's inmates were awarded 'privilege almost amounting to total liberty'. The somewhat sensational account records the author's surprise:

[the inmates] are less of the captive on board the *Shaftesbury* than on the *Vernon*. The boys who have passed their probation, and against whom no marks appear in the defaulters' book, are allowed to go on shore and do what they please at certain times. They are never asked where they have been or what they have been doing; and so long as they reappear when the flag is hoisted from the mast head, no questions are asked. They appear more trusted than on the *Vernon*...⁸⁶

In general, industrial training schools appear to have been disposed to award a degree of spatial freedom to inmates both as a tool (and test) of self-regulation. Commenting on inmates from the Boys Farm Home making deliveries to customers in 1865, an inspector noted that the system 'both tried and encouraged their honesty'.⁸⁷ In April 1869 the Captain Superintendent of the *Wellesley* Industrial Training Ship had a letter published in *The Scotsman* which drew sharp divisions between the cultures of reformatory and industrial training ships. In response to accusations that his ship was a prison, Commander Pocock maintained that he would often order his inmates 'to go on shore, and by their conduct prove that it was false, and then turn them adrift on the streets of Newcastle for a couple of hours'.⁸⁸ This freedom, particularly with regard to money – the purchasing of goods and bringing back of change – appeared to be part of the character building functions of the ship's culture:

For instance, I have taken out a half sovereign, 'Look here, lad. Can I trust you with that?'

'Yes, Sir.'

'Of course I can.'

⁸⁶ 'The *Shaftesbury* and the *Vernon*: By a Colonial Journalist in London,' *The Sydney Morning Herald*, 10 September 1887, p. 6

⁸⁷ Boys' Farm Home Inspection Report, *8th Report of the Inspector of Prisons: Industrial Schools*, PP 1865 (3527) XXV, p. 73; in 1865, in Gear, p. 174.

⁸⁸ Commander Pocock, *Dundee Advertiser*, 2 April 1869; in Douglas, p. 20.

He gets his orders and goes off, nearly bursting with a new sense of being honest.⁸⁹

Even on a ship known for its excessive corporal punishment, Pocock appears to have espoused the idea of spatial liberty as a reforming and character-building process.

The 'reward economy' of good conduct badges in which an inmate could rise to Petty Officer status or fall and lose visitation rights, should lead historians to reassess the complexity of industrial school ship's disciplinary culture, particularly with regard to the symbolic value of clothing and the use of freedoms to engender self-restraint. Attention is often paid to notions of disciplining the body and economic embodiment in industrial schools, yet the notion of the uniform as a 'second skin' within their culture has been overlooked. Although the *Shaftesbury* appears to have been measured in its use of corporal punishment, its regime left deliberate signs of discipline and reward on the skin of its inmates, albeit through clothing rather than lines from the cane. Foucault's discipline 'supposes a continuous registration: annotations of the individual, relation of events...so that no detail escapes the top of the hierarchy'.⁹⁰ Inmates' badges and other symbols, however, were in some sense self-annotations, albeit in a regulated and regulating form. It is accurate also to view them as markers of access to degrees of regulated space. Gear discusses similar schemes operating at industrial schools such as Feltham and Park Row, with the suggestion that most industrial schools operated reward economies that integrated, to a greater or lesser degree, spatial freedom, economic reward, and monitorial responsibilities with badges or tags worn on clothing. The rewards were symbolised by various 'badges', 'stripes' and 'stars', structured into complex representative systems. At the London Boys' Home inmates could 'earn a red star every quarter, which was worn on the arm':

Four stars would be exchanged for a red stripe. One earning a stripe and a further star a boy became a GCB (Good Conduct Boy) and on earning two

⁸⁹ Commander Pocock, *Dundee Advertiser*, 2 April 1869; in Douglas, p. 20.

⁹⁰ Michel Foucault, 'The Incorporation of the Hospital into Modern Technology', in *Space, Knowledge and Power: Foucault and Geography*, ed by Jeremy W. Crampton and Stuart Elden (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), pp. 141-152, p. 147

stripes and a star he became a 'Truro' boy...[t]hree red stripes would be exchanged for a silver one.⁹¹

There were also considerable differences in the variety of rewards that the badges symbolised– at 'Feltham the Good Conduct Badge Boys had the dubious honour of being considered for attendance at funerals'⁹² – resulting in each institution having a different material style of discipline. At Feltham boys 'could only spend half their money, the remainder had to go into compulsory savings', at Park Row each of the boys was 'taught to keep account' his money...had to pay for breakages from it but could use the remainder to pay for treats for himself'.⁹³ The suggestion is of a 'symbolic economy' that wove together behaviour, appearance, and access to otherwise proscribed materials. Craik has highlighted the role of the uniform in the distillation of habitus, noting its function in the regulation of bodily practices of which its wearing becomes part.⁹⁴ The technology of the symbolic economy of badges on the *Shaftesbury*, however, was based around the coercion of inmates into the freedoms that the rewards system offered. Bourdieu calls such investment *illusio*, encouraging immersion in the 'social field' as of a game: 'to participate, to admit that the game is worth playing and that the stakes created in and through the fact of playing are worth pursuing; it is to recognise the game and to recognise its stakes'.⁹⁵ The 'game' and the 'stakes' were never really the accumulation of pocket money or the ability to wander around the town unsupervised, but concerned the investment of the inmate in norms of self-regulation. Badges were signs and technologies of interest – 'opposed to that of disinterestedness but also to that of indifference' – in a socio-moral order they had previously been deemed ambivalent to.⁹⁶ To Bourdieu, this order was really a set of differentiating, relational practices designed to shore up economic and cultural inequalities. It is also engaged by

⁹¹ Gear, p. 173

⁹² Gear, p. 175

⁹³ Gear, p. 174.

⁹⁴ Jennifer Craik The Cultural Politics of the Uniform, *Fashion Theory*, 7:2 (2003), pp. 127-147.

⁹⁵ Bourdieu, *Practical Reason*, p. 77.

⁹⁶ Bourdieu, *Practical Reason*, p. 77.

historians through the aspirational discourse of 'character' enshrining features of the 'liberal subject'.

Discussing the construction of the 'liberal' subject in the late nineteenth century, Otter notes:

[t]he creation of character was, critically, a deeply bodily enterprise, a process by which one took the physical attributes of oneself as an object to be worked on, improved, and disciplined. Thus, the ethical formation of the subject involved the cultivation of cleanliness, sexual moderation, sobriety, physical fitness, and good health. A society composed of such well-drilled 'men of character' barely needed a state to govern it.⁹⁷

The desire to inculcate self-discipline by awarding inmates degrees of freedom was clearly part of an attempt to develop the 'character' of inmates. Yet as much as such intentions focussed on reforming the 'souls' of inmates, clothing was central to the way the process was both imagined and enacted. The rewards given on the *Shaftesbury* were themselves part of a broader disciplinary project that sought to release inmates with a new sense of financial and social self-restraint. Given the desire of the Captain and SMC to stop inmates re-offending, the promotion of responsible saving and wandering could be seen as an empowering practice, but the socialisation of individuals under such terms has been problematized by many historians. For those who view the School Board as an apparatus and technology seeking to invade the hallowed privacy of the private working-class home, such as Auerbach, the sanitised freedoms granted were at the expense of far greater liberties.⁹⁸ Post-Foucauldian analysis of self-restraint within late Victorian and twentieth-century society has sought to posit the granting of such freedoms as a technology of governmentality. Describing his own approach to the topic, Rose has noted:

The English governmentality approach ... drew upon Foucault's observation that technology of the self were formed alongside the technologies of domination such as discipline. The subjects so created

⁹⁷ Otter, p. 11-12

⁹⁸ Auerbach, 'Some Punishment'.

would produce the ends of government by fulfilling themselves rather than being merely obedient.⁹⁹

The aim of governmentality was thus, in Rose's memorable phrase, that the subject 'would be obliged to be free in specific ways'.¹⁰⁰ It is vision peculiarly suited to the aims and training of the broader industrial school ship: its work in re-making individuals in accordance with a very distinct professional habitus. Regardless of the meta-theoretical or structural implications that such discussions of governmentality have for the system of industrial school education in general, however, they pose the *Shaftesbury's* disciplinary practices as complexly constructive and creative technologies.

Section Three: The Removal And Demotion Of Inmates To Land Schools

The *Shaftesbury* was part of an integrated network of residential institutions that exchanged inmates according to criteria such as body type, criminality, behavioural difficulty and career preference. Throughout the period of my research window, the *Shaftesbury's* network developed both in rationale and reach. The decisions made were subjective and based on individual cases, often made to 'correct' original decisions by magistrates. These moves were frequently connected to discipline, with 'demotion' to reformatory school forming one of the most extreme punishments available to Scriven. Those convicted of crimes such as theft were often passed over into the reformatory system in addition to short prison stays and birching. Those guilty of absconding or being 'too troublesome' were usually just transferred to a reformatory directly.¹⁰¹ A number of commentators have suggested that the division between industrial schools and reformatory schools was based on vague and subjective notions of the 'criminality' of boys. The evidence from the *Shaftesbury* suggests that

⁹⁹ Nikolas Rose, Pat O'Malley, and Mariana Valverde, 'Governmentality', *Annual Review of Law and Social Science*, 2:1 (2006), pp. 83-104, p. 89

¹⁰⁰ Nikolas Rose, *Governing the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self* (London: Routledge, 1989).

¹⁰¹ LMA/SBL/0364-12, 23 November 1880.

subjectivity also governed the re-location of already institutionalised boys between industrial school and reformatory. When three boys stole a 'large sum of money' from an officers' cabin in December 1892, for example, none were sent to a reformatory, with the Captain choosing to deal with the culprits privately.¹⁰² Yet Thomas Hanlin received ten days imprisonment and was moved to a reformatory for four years for stealing foods from the galley pantry less than six months later.¹⁰³ The difference in outcomes seems related to the perceived culpability of the officer in charge. Scriven linked the high level of discipline aboard his ship to permanent observation, and some 'crimes' on board seem to have been attributed to lack of authority or vigilance by an officer. Thus when twelve inmates broke into the storeroom and stole food in late 1893, Scriven advised Chief Seaman instructor Kellow to take more control of his pupils, and chose not to send the inmates to a reformatory but punish them himself.¹⁰⁴ Those found attempting to abscond were frequently 'downgraded' to a reformatory, often the *Cornwall*,¹⁰⁵ though, again, not always. The decisions, and the punishments they enacted, were subjective but not arbitrary. Much was made of the context of the incident, and the previous character of inmate(s) involved. Giving evidence to the DCRIC in 1895, Scriven refused to see his inmates as criminal. This was also the standard SBL position, reflected by Philpott's distinction between industrial and reformatory schools in *London At School*. Yet the threat of being 'downgraded' continued beyond the inmate's literal stay on the ship, into the twilight world of licensees. Thus in March 1894 W. Wells whose 'time would be up' soon but had no family was sentenced to the Reformatory Ship *Cornwall* for absconding from the ship he was licensed to and selling his 'sea kit'. In facilitating the move to the reformatory, Scriven had to pass the boy before the local magistrate, yet the move was seen very much as an

¹⁰² LMA/SBL/0369-111, 7 Feb 1893: further discussion of this episode can be found in chapter seven.

¹⁰³ LMA/SBL/0369-180, 9 May 1893.

¹⁰⁴ LMA/SBL/0369-269, 14 November 1893.

¹⁰⁵ LMA/SBL/0371-214, 28 June 1898: absconder sent to *Cornwall* reformatory ship

inter-institutional move rather one between two separate systems.¹⁰⁶ In the SMC Minutes there is a growing confidence about using the transferrals over time. By 1899, as discussed in section one, SMC members suggest it as a matter of course for a boy who had received frequent punishment.

It is interesting to note that the original Rules on 'demotion' were altered in 1893 to remove the option of applying to a magistrate for an inmate to be discharged on ground of being 'incorrigible'.¹⁰⁷ Such amorphous notions of immorality or ungovernability were disappearing as the discourses and apparatus of child psychopathology grew more pervasive at the close of the nineteenth century, and notions of delinquency and criminality were re-constructed in psychological terms.¹⁰⁸ Barnett's comprehensive study on industrial schools published in 1913 evidences the shift to a more medicalised discourse on social deprivation: 'hereditary mental deficiency' and 'bodily degeneracy' being linked solely to 'feeble-mindedness' and the need for 'separate provisions for mentally deficient children'.¹⁰⁹ Copeland, in his study of the provision for 'feeble-minded' and disabled children during the *Shaftesbury's* period, has drawn attention to the way in which 'special needs' classes networked organically into 'the larger system of Elementary schools'.¹¹⁰ Schools and centres for 'backward', as well as those for the deaf and blind, children developed from single class experiments to 'twenty-one centres for special instruction' with 896 on roll over a decade.¹¹¹ The inter-institutional practices of the *Shaftesbury*, however, – including 'demotion' on account of poor behaviour – were a product of economic rationalisation. Attributions of psychological abnormality were not systemised, but remained vague, and did not result in moves to specialised care. When, for example, JH Flint was declared to be

¹⁰⁶ LMA/SBL/0365-344, 6 March 1894.

¹⁰⁷ LMA/SBL/0365-128, 7 February 1893.

¹⁰⁸ Nikolas Rose, *The Psychological Complex: Psychology, Politics and Society in England 1869-1939* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985).

¹⁰⁹ Mary Barnett, *Young Delinquents: A Study of Reformatory and Industrial Schools* (London: Methuen, 1913), p. 53-54.

¹¹⁰ Ian Copeland, *The Making of the Backward Pupil in Education in England, 1870-1914* (London: Routledge Falmer, 1999), p. 102.

¹¹¹ Copeland, *The Making*.

‘mentally deficient and unfit for sea training’ four months after entry, the options for his release were simply transferral to a land industrial school or discharge ‘to his friends’.¹¹² Although the Medical Officer was asked to report on the Flint case, his findings avoided the suggestions for treatment or removal to land institutions that accompanied standard medical reports into serious illnesses and injuries aboard:

In accordance with the request of the Sub Committee I beg to state that John Henry Flint is of imperfect development of mind and is not fit for a sea training [sic]. The imbecility is shown more by his habits than his conversation.¹¹³

The Medical Officer clearly had a conceptual frame for his diagnosis but was happy to leave the case ‘in the hands of the Chairman’ who pronounced that ‘this boy should be retained on the Ship for the present’.¹¹⁴ As mentioned in the first section of this chapter, a boy named H. Wallace prone to violent bouts of self-injury was treated on ship as a disciplinary case. Whilst discourses and practices relating to the reformation of the inmate dominated punishment on the industrial school side of the ship, the inter-institutionality of the *Shaftesbury* consisted of strategies that dealt with the inmate as economic statistic. Although there were innate differences between the industrial school and training ship cultures of the ship, this was largely the product of the difficult market conditions of the period.

Conclusion ‘Mixed’ Punishments

This chapter has been an attempt to challenge and nuance the accusations, found across industrial school literature, of harsh, illegal, and cruel punishment cultures. The evidence from the *Shaftesbury* is that issuing of corporal punishment was to a high degree vetted by the SMC and Home Office. There seems, also, to have been a degree of care taken by Scriven and other officers to

¹¹² LMA/SBL/0370-254, 30 June 1896.

¹¹³ LMA/SBL/0370-260, 30 June 1896.

¹¹⁴ LMA/SBL/0370-278, 14 July 1896.

follow guidance, as the case of Hyatt illustrates. We cannot strike suggestions of cruelty or extra-regulatory punishment out of the history of the *Shaftesbury*, however. According to one source, all of the punishments and rewards set out in the Regulations appear to have been used on ship in conjunction with one another, producing a mixed economy of punishment for many offences. *Chums* reports, of a Petty Officer 'discovered to have been in the in the habit of picking the lock of the letter-box with which he was entrusted: "Disrated, deprived of badges, twelve strokes with cane, two days' cell with bread and water, confined to ship for six months, twelve strokes with cane on leaving cell.'" The account illustrates how, with the combination of the numerous punishments and sanctions available to Scriven, unpleasant and long-lasting punishments could be devised equal to most offences found on board. There was, crucially, no limit to the combination of punishments specified in any regulations. If the *Chums* account is to be taken at face value, it also suggests grey areas between legal and illegal punishments: twelve strokes were the limit for each individual caning, but there is no provision in the rules to prohibit multiple canings being sentenced at the same time for different days.

Scriven appears content to have used such heavy punishments in combination with a reward system based on granting freedoms. The broadness of this disciplinary spectrum seems common to industrial schools and ships. Pocock, whose use of caning reached such frequency and severity that he was pressured to leave his role without actually having broken the Rules of the *Wellesley*, appears equally committed to allowing his inmates to freely walk around the shore. Punishment and the ability to *use* freedom as a test of self-restraint formed two sides to the same coin. Pocock's inmate was not just weighing a sovereign in his hand during his stroll about the shore, but his identity as a liberal subject 'simultaneously free and self-governing on the one hand, and subjected and governed, on the other.'¹¹⁵ Significantly, he must also have been weighing the price of choosing the wrong type of freedom: the rewards for which, on both the *Wellesley* and the *Shaftesbury*, were discretionary and painful.

¹¹⁵ Otter, p. 11.

Chapter Five: Sea Trade

Introduction

In this chapter I will explore the *Shaftesbury* in relation to the ‘cruelties’ of the sea trade, a sector infamous for its high percentages of deaths, economic vulnerabilities, emotional and physical difficulties. Industrial school ships have often been discussed as systemically cruel institutions, functioning primarily to condemn inmates into economic subjugation in an industry beset with danger and immorality. Studies of the *Wellesley*, *Clio* and *Mars* Industrial School ships, and also of reformatory ships such as the *Akbar*, have highlighted common dangers to life and limb found on ship schools even *before* boys were licensed out: physical abuse, drowning, fall related injuries, diseases linked to overcrowding and poor ventilation. For those ‘sent to sea’, the dangers of the maritime industry were public knowledge during the *Shaftesbury*’s period:

In 1881 the Board of Trade estimated that the 3,979 deaths of masters and seamen that year represented one in 56 of all who went to sea in the British ships, a figure that Joseph Chamberlain compared with a death rate amongst miners of one in 315 in their worst year.[...]With a high death rate, low pay, and bad living conditions the merchant marine had difficulty in attracting enough British seamen.¹

Linda Mahood has presented the relationship between training ships and the marine industry as effectively condemning inmates into economic servitude: arguing that, in the Scottish context, it was the rich Clyde shipbuilders that ultimately supported and benefitted most from the industrial school ships.² Noting the economic downturn in the mercantile market during the last decades of the nineteenth century, Hurt further contents that inmates were knowingly licenced into increasingly squalid and dangerous conditions due to the difficulty of finding boys good berths. These accounts contrast with the work of Kennerley

¹ Hurt, *Outside the Mainstream*, p. 81.

² Mahood, p. 92

and Pietsch, who have weighed dangers against benefits afforded by ‘charity’ sea-training institutions. In his study of the Marine Society’s sea-apprenticeships, Pietsch argues for the training ship as a variety of ultra-apprenticeship. It was quicker than those on land, payed more on completion, and guaranteed saleable skills in a world-market.³

This chapter examines these themes through aspects of the *Shaftesbury*’s sea-training culture. Whatever the architectural, pedagogical or organisational differences between the *Shaftesbury* and its peers, training inmates for sea remained core to the *Shaftesbury*’s culture. If there was a major theme in the SMC minutes, amongst the press that the ship received, or in the testimony given by Scriven to the DCRIC in 1895, it is the search to improve ‘sent-to-sea’ employment statistics. Section one begins with an account of the implicit dangers of training on a hulk, and moves to examine the *Shaftesbury*’s ineffectual management of the risks of the ‘cruel sea’ and integration into the maritime market. Section two challenges and nuances notions of inmate agency in the industrial school ship sector, by exploring how much choice inmates had over being ‘sent to sea’.

Section One: ‘Sent’ To The Cruel Sea

5.1.0 *The Dangers of the Training Ship*

The dangers of life at sea began on board the *Shaftesbury* for inmates. For a ‘static’ training hulk, the *Shaftesbury* moved around the Thames considerably during her first five years, with letters from the ship being addressed from both ‘Woolwich’ and ‘Greenhithe, Kent’⁴. Although weather played its part in the ship’s near sinking in 1881, the SMC’s decision to ignore Thames Conservators’ advice on mooring position had threatened to turn the disaster into a tragedy.

³ Roland Pietsch, ‘Ships’ Boys and Youth Culture in Eighteenth-Century Britain: The Navy Recruits of the London Marine Society,’ *The Northern Mariner*, 14:4 (2004), pp. 11-24.

⁴ LMA/SBL/0364-172, 13 December 1881.

The *Shaftesbury* was tugged to Greenhithe, then to the Royal Albert Docks in North Woolwich where it sat in dock for repairs for just over four months, before being temporarily moored at the Admiralty buoy of Greenhithe again. Due to the refusal to obey the suggestions of experts, apart from a brief spell in dock, the *Shaftesbury* was unsafely moored from 1878 until early autumn 1882.⁵ The minutes from 10th January 1882 show the continued precariousness of the *Shaftesbury*'s position. The Thames Conservators worried that the 'ship should part from her present moorings' 'riding at the Admiralty buoy off Greenhithe' loaned Scriven an anchor and 60 fathoms cable to drop in case of emergency. Aside from the more serious dangers, there were inconveniences associated with the increased 'roll' of the ship moored unsteadily at the buoy. The buoy was steadily filling with water and the Captain feared that it would 'hang as a heavy weight to the bows of the ship, and be likely to do harm'.⁶ Scriven reported knocks against the water barge were damaging the ship, and that the gas lights kept extinguishing themselves in the swaying motion.⁷ One is left with a sense of an unpredictable and uncomfortable period in the ship's troubled mooring history, Scriven added:

it would not be safe to keep the ship in her present position longer than is absolutely necessary, as they are much in the way of the traffic of the river, and when swung with the stern towards the Essex shore, passing vessels come into very close proximity to the ship.⁸

Although the *Shaftesbury* was not generally as uncomfortable as other training ships, such as the *Clio*, the infamous Great Freeze of 1895 left the inmates astonishingly exposed in the Thames. The plea to borrow water from another ship as the water pipe was frozen may have been echoed by inconveniences on land.⁹ The way in which communication between the ship and shore was entirely halted by ice,¹⁰ however, and the danger felt by the large blocks of ice that were

⁵ Benson, p. 106.

⁶ LMA/SBL/0364-186, 10 January 1882.

⁷ LMA/SBL/0364-186, 10 January 1882.

⁸ LMA/SBL/0364-186, 10 January 1882.

⁹ LMA/SBL/0370-29, 19 February 1895.

¹⁰ LMA/SBL/0370-30, 19 February 1895.

floating down the Thames,¹¹ show something of the uniquely vulnerable position of the *Shaftesbury* as a ship.

The training hulk had largely fallen out of favour by the time the *Shaftesbury* was de-certified, with land-based schools viewed as safer and more technologically adaptable environments. There is some evidence that the training hulks cost lives:

In 1875, the [industrial and reformatory] training ships had a death rate of 15 per 1000 compared with 10.9 amongst boys in the 117 industrial schools, 7.1 in the 65 reformatory schools, and 3.8 among boys of the 10-14 age-group in the population in general. By 1890 there had been a great improvement, but the death rates were still significantly higher than the other categories, being 5.4 per 1000 in the ships, compared with 3.3 in the 142 industrial schools and the 47 reformatory schools, and 2.2 in the 10-14 age-group.¹²

On the *Shaftesbury*, drowning occurred occasionally: G. Hopman in 1878, Henry Cutmore in 1883, JW Forman in 1888, Arthur Patrick and Officer Albert King in 1900. What we might term or 'ship-related' deaths were surprisingly uncommon given that it was not until 1894, at the urging of the SMC chairman, that safety nets were placed under the rigging. As mentioned in the previous chapter, John Samuel Ward died in 1884 after falling an estimated 39 feet from the rigging and 'bouncing' off the ship into the Thames. The twelve-year old Ward was said to be 'playing' at the time of his accident, suggesting that inmates were allowed to play high up in the rigging during 'break' periods. On the morning of the Duke of York's celebrated visit to the *Shaftesbury* for Prize Giving Day in 1894, fifteen year old John Jackson fell whilst attempting to clean the outside of the SMC's Committee Rooms. There is great poignancy in the case. Jackson had been told of his mother's death only the previous day, and as he was being helped towards medical treatment for six broken ribs and a punctured lung, he is reported to have repeatedly said 'Let me lay down, I want to go to my poor mother'.¹³ Although the Duke of York briefly mentioned the death in his speech that

¹¹ LMA/SBL/0370-31, 19 February 1895.

¹² Kennerley, 'Ratings', p. 40.

¹³ Benson, p. 118.

afternoon, he clearly did not know about the death of Jackson's mother, asking his audience to 'join with me in expressing deep sympathy with the parents of the poor child'.¹⁴ The most poignant element of Jackson's death is how easily it was ignored, despite its personal tragedy and occurrence on such a public occasion. *The Standard* mis-named Jackson as 'William', *Reynold's* claimed that the death of 'James Jackson' had 'somewhat marred' the Duke of York's visit, and many papers failed to mention it at all in their extensive coverage of the day. The 'accident' was treated defensively by Scriven and the SMC, perhaps due to the great symbolic weight it carried: the distraught boy perched precariously to clean the Committee Room's windows as the staff busied themselves with preparations to receive royalty. As Benson's account of the inquest shows, Scriven was at pains to describe the 'accident' as the fault of Jackson for impetuously joining the team detailed to clean the windows, when he had been given different duties.

The Medical Officer's reports show many 'minor' injuries – broken and fractured bones, for example – although it would be difficult to attribute these directly to the ship. This is because inmates appear to have sustained fall injuries in many land-based environments they were allowed to visit.¹⁵ The inquest into the drowning of JW Forman in 1888, which appears as either a desperate escape attempt or suicide,¹⁶ recommended that 'a man should be on watch during the hours of the night, instead of a boy',¹⁷ indicating that inmate 'Petty Officers' were entrusted with such fundamental safety roles as Night Watchmen. Although this somewhat shatters the image of industrial school ships as virtual prisons for inmates, it raises further questions about the way that SMC and Scriven understood risk and responsibility on board. The defence likely mounted by

¹⁴ 'The Duke Of York At Grays', *The Standard*, 11 July 1894, p. 3.

¹⁵ LMA/SBL/0371-44, 19 Oct 1897: for example, reports that one boy was injured in July after falling off a cliff at the annual trip to Rosherville Gardens, and another fell into a dry-dock occupied by the *Themis* in August.

¹⁶ LMA/SBL/0367-21 Forman 'seen to enter the water' at 4 o'clock in morning with no clothes on, which could indicate either unsound mind or that he was prepared to swim.

¹⁷ LMA/SBL/0367-24, 3 July 1888.

Scriven was that many of the Petty Officers, older boys of good conduct nearing the end of their stay aboard, could assume such responsibility on a working ship within weeks. One area in which Scriven and the SMC took seriously was swimming, and the ship opened its own swimming pool on shore in 1881. From July 1882 lessons were progressing well enough to create annual swimming prizes from the interest on a legacy bequeathed to the ship.¹⁸ The lessons seem to have had some effect as two boys received Royal Humane Society medals for jumping in and attempting to rescue Ward after his fall from the rigging in 1884.¹⁹ There remained a permanent minority of inmates, however, who could not swim even in the ship's pool.²⁰ In general, as will be discussed in the next Chapter, the *Shaftsbury* was a comparatively 'healthy' ship. Tragedies such as those that took place above occurred in the full light of public inquests (with deaths) and Medical Reports (for infectious diseases) which needed to be sent to both the Board and Port Authority. Far more danger, as Hurt has noted, awaited inmates once they were sent to sea.

5.1.1 *The Cruel Sea*

Cruelties associated with being 'sent-to-sea' occasionally appear in the narratives of 'old boys' found in archive sources and the press. Endemic to what we would now call the *Shaftsbury's* 'risk culture' were features that made it almost impossible to safeguard, or trace, boys sent on distant voyages. The 'Long Lost Relatives' section in *Lloyd's Weekly* carried messages from family members desperate to locate boys who disappeared after a voyage: Charles Ackland²¹ who left the *Shaftsbury* on a ship bound for South Africa in 1890, for example, or

¹⁸ LMA/SBL/0364-311, 18 July 1882: A legacy left to be shared amongst training ships – called Brown's Legacy – provided annual prizes for swimming interest for swimming prizes.

¹⁹ Henry Gills and Alfred Coote displayed considerable swimming skill to recover Ward's body in the Thames currents.

²⁰ LMA/SBL/0371-31/32, 5 October 1897: 284 out of 391 could swim.

²¹ 'Long-Lost Relatives', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 12 October 1890.

Herbert Cotman²² who left the *Shaftesbury* on a ship bound for Australia in 1893. Forced or coerced emigration is rightly discussed as a cruelty perpetrated by nineteenth and early twentieth century institutions, but being 'sent-to-sea' also offered a fate filled with risk and uncertainty. The relatives of Harry Deacon, who had left the *Shaftesbury* to join a ship to Vancouver in 1883, and had 'not been heard from' four years later show the degree to which being 'sent to sea' could equal emigration in terms of severed familial ties.²³ For all the *Shaftesbury*'s attempts to inculcate self-regulation in its inmates, ships at sea operated as total institutions, with eccentric cultures above and below deck²⁴. It is impossible to construct a standard list of potential late nineteenth-century maritime dangers facing inmates. The immediate experiences of four inmates from the *Shaftesbury* sent to sea in the same month highlight the variety of experiences possible. In May 1898, four inmates were listed in the SMC Minutes under 'disposals to sea'. J. Parratt (15yr) was one of the few 'lucky' boys discharged into the Royal Navy. W. Allen (15yrs old) and C.F. Smith (13yrold) were licensed as 'Ordinary Seamen' to the S.S *Aberdare*,²⁵ which subsequently sank in collision with another ship in Bristol channel in March the following year with loss of life.²⁶ The remaining boy, A. Smith, was licensed to the SS *Blaenavon* where he would have performed his duties alongside Alice Amelia McKinley, a transvestite discovered on board the *Blaenavon* and widely reported in the world's press from October 1898.²⁷ McKinley's account offers glimpses into the boisterous and unpredictable life on board the *Blaenavon* Smith knew. McKinley was regularly chastised for showing emotion (ironically, like a 'girl') and lampooned for not accepting the 'gift' of a prostitute offered her in port, although her habit of sleeping fully clothed

²² 'Long-Lost Relatives', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 21 May 1893.

²³ 'Imperial Parliament', *Lloyd's Weekly Newspaper*, 28 August 1887.

²⁴ Zurcher has argues that 'the *at sea* is a total institution': Louis Zurcher, 'The Sailor Aboard Ship: A Study of Role Behaviour in a Total Institution', *Social Forces*, 43:3 (1965), p. 389-400.

²⁵ LMA/SBL/0371-210, 18 May 1898.

²⁶ The Wreck Site, *SS Aberdare (+1899)*, < <https://www.wrecksite.eu/wreck.aspx?192980> > [accessed 12 July 2017].

²⁷ 'A Sea Romance, Girl Ships as a Sailor, How She Was Discovered on Her Second Voyage', *The New Zealand Herald*, 24 Dec 1898, for example.

appeared normal amongst crew members. The diversity of the outcomes for these four inmates released to sea at roughly the same time from the ship speak to the variety of experiences that could be encoded in the phrase 'sent to sea'.

There is some evidence that the *Shaftesbury* insufficiently prepared inmates for the cultural challenges of life at sea. The aim of the *Shaftesbury* was not merely to reform inmates into socially acceptable patterns of work and morals, but also to immerse inmates in the professional *habitus* of marine work. The physical demands of the industry were well replicated, with inmates' days and nights structured according to 'mock sea life'. The verisimilitude, understandably, stopped short of the kind of 'below decks' culture described by McKinley. The inability of the SMC to prepare inmates adequately for 'culture shock' at sea, or foster resilience against a variety of moral or physical dangers, was perhaps natural for an institution wedded to a progressive, reformatory agenda. It is interesting to note that in contemporary criticisms of the efficacy industrial school ships, reformatory school ships were often praised. Antrobus, for example, praises the three reformatory school ships – the *Akbar*, *Clarence* and *Cornwall* – as “more than four-fifths [of the boys entered] have gone to sea, and the great majority are doing credit to the naval and professional training they have received”. In contrast he singles out five certified industrial school ships – *Formidable*, *Southampton*, *Wellesley*, *Cumberland*, and the *Mars* – as not supplying enough boys either to sea or to the Navy. The *Akbar* and the *Clarence* were considered dangerous and unhealthy ships, both for officers and inmates. The *Clarence* was burnt out twice, and riots grew so violent on the *Akbar* that police were sometimes stationed on boats near the ship to quell possible uprisings. The *Akbar* taught little in its schoolroom, but it fostered varieties of resistance in its inmates that gave them an advantage in the mercantile marine. This was far from the case with the *Shaftesbury*. In May 1898, SMC member Rev Edward Schnadhorst 'submitted to the [SMC] a book entitled “Realities of Sea Life” and recommending [sic] that two copies should be supplied to the Ship's library.'²⁸ The action was approved. In February 1898, the book received a

²⁸ LMA/SBL/0371-207, 18 May 1898.

savage review in *The Spectator*,²⁹ which accused it of being the work of an author who had merely been the guest on a friend's passenger liner. The reviewer contrasted the sanitized account with a contemporary warts-and-all view of the American merchant marine offered by an author who had spent two years working, without special treatment, as a hand. Without a similarly realistic introduction to the British merchant fleet, the magazine suggested, young sailors would leave the fleet after experiencing culture shock on a first voyage. Culture shock here refers not just to eccentric regimes, but also to the racial and linguistic heterogeneity of British-owned ships.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, 'charity' training ship boys had been promoted as ways to homogenize the British mercantile marine.³⁰ The reality was that the culture of the sea remained inherently international, leaving boys taught only the 'Realities of Sea Life' at a disadvantage. The issues involved are brought home by the 'Case of James Davies' found in the SMC minutes in Autumn and Winter 1898.³¹ A letter from Davies' parents to the HM Inspector of Industrial and Reformatory Schools, is worth quoting at length as it records some of the geographical and cultural isolation that resulted from the international nature of the work:

The parents state that they have written to the Colonial Office complaining that their son...who was sent from the Ship '*Shaftesbury*' to the ship '*Antiope*' (Captain George. W. Murray), trading between Liverpool and Beirs, South East Africa. He joined the ship at Cardiff, and when the vessel sailed stated he was the only English-speaking member of the crew, the others being blacks. He was treated with great unkindness by the Captain. The food was also bad, and when the ship arrived in Beira he was ill with fever and had to go into the hospital there. He has since recovered, and is now working in a printing office at Beira.

²⁹ 'Realities of Sea Life', *The Spectator*, 19 February 1898, p19.

³⁰ 'In 1866, following the loss of S.S London in the Bay of Biscay with only 19 survivors out of 244 hands, [Assistant Poor Law Commissioner] E. Carleton Tufnell renewed his argument that pauper boys should receive a seaman's training. "The deficiency of sailors is well known; many ships go to sea half manned, supplied with Lascars and foreigners, who often do not speak English, and generally fail in an emergency, a factor held to have contributed to the loss of S.S. London': Hurt, *Outside the Mainstream*, p81.

³¹ LMA/SBL/0371-250, 12 October 1898.

They would like their son sent home, and some inquiry made as to why he was allowed to go on such a ship with a black crew, who threatened to murder the Captain on the voyage out. [...] The lads (Davis) number is 1097. He was, I believe, a smart fellow when on board, and was one of the lads chosen to give a display before the Duke of York on he occasion on his visit to the ship.³²

Captain Blampied, the *Shaftesbury*'s shipping agent in Cardiff, shipped Davies in May 1897 and by the time he wrote to the SMC defending the 'comfortable' situation on the *Antiope*,³³ it was clear his depictions were either disingenuous or mistaken. In Summer 1898 the *Antiope* put into Valparaiso, where its ill-tempered Captain was arrested and sent to trial in England for shooting the ship's carpenter.³⁴ The account echoes the fractured distances and dissonant identities endemic in the merchant marine: the geo-political sensitivities of the destination, the cultural signifiers of skin tone and language. The *Shaftesbury* inmates 'sent-to-sea' were the products of a discourse, which had its origins in the 'Christian Mercantilism' of Hanway's first training ship for waifs in the late eighteenth century, that sought to 'reclaim' the maritime marine by making it more British. The nationality, race and language of the inmates were primary objects of consideration in this discourse, judged as vital as sailing skills. Antrobus, in an 1876 pamphlet, calls the shortages of British sailors in the merchant marine an 'Imperial' problem.³⁵ Scriven, reporting the results of his own 'enquiries' into the case on a visit to Cardiff noted only that Davies, despite spending days on board the vessel before disembarkation, 'made no complaint until the ship arrived at Beira.'³⁶ For Scriven, the situation on the *Antiope* would

³² Letter sent to the SMC 23 Sept 1898, recorded in LMA/SBL/0371-250, 12 October 1898.

³³ Blampied on 1 October 1898 to Scriven and the SMC, recorded in LMA/SBL/0371-250, 12 October 1898.

³⁴ The History of Shipbuilding in Scotland, *Sailing Vessel ANTIOPE* (The Caledonian Maritime Research Trust, 2017) <<http://www.clydeships.co.uk/view.php?ref=19095>> [accessed 17 July 2017].

³⁵ Antrobus, *Training schools*; also, during his visit in 1894, the Duke of York explained to the inmates 'let me remind you that the continued prosperity of the British Empire depends largely upon the efficacy of the Royal Navy and the mercantile marine (loud cheers)': 'The Duke Of York At Grays,' *The Standard*, 11 July 1894, p. 3.

³⁶ LMA/SBL/0371-261, 26 October 1898.

have appeared unfortunately but relatively common: tyrannical captain, a mix of languages and cultures, rumblings of mutinous dissent were common enough to the merchant marine. Bovill reports a similar case to that of Davies' in relation to the *Wellesley*, with local papers reporting outrage that a boy had been placed as the only Englishman on a Russian ship with 'food totally unfit for an English lad'.³⁷ Although not an ideal berth for an inmate on a first voyage, the shrinking of prospects in the shipping market meant that the *Shaftesbury* had to rely on getting berths where it could.

5.1.2 *The Market*

The distinct set of cruelties and difficulties which Hurt suggests faced inmates sent to sea were the result of the depressed state of the commercial shipping that accompanied the *Shaftesbury's* first fifteen years and the prevalence of other charity training ships around the country. Even before the *Nubia* had been purchased, the SBL had queried whether there was 'sufficient demand for lads for Sea Service to justify' the ISC's planned creation of an industrial school ship.³⁸ The mid-to-late 1880s were dark days for British commercial shipping, both generally and in the immediate surrounds of Grays. In 1888, the East and West India Dock Company was bankrupted after the failure of the nearby Tilbury Docks to find enough business. The depressed market led to drops in the standards and conditions aboard ships. The Captain's Report in October 1892 suggests something of the bleak horizons facing the *Shaftesbury's* inmates. Not only was the Royal Navy continuing to refuse entry to boys from the ship but, of the small percentage of boys electing to go to sea, most 'had been sent to Coasters, as the shipping trade with foreign going vessels continued depressed [sic].'³⁹ Of six boys sent to fishing smacks in Grimsby as a trial in the early 1890s, only two stayed their term, the others leaving because of apparent poor pay and cruel treatment. Despite this, the Committee was forced to consider a further

³⁷ Bovill, p. 114.

³⁸ 'A Plea for Better Administration', November 1881, The Court House Marylebone, Joseph R. Diggle, p. 32; recounted in P. Benson, p. 65.

³⁹ LMA/SBL/0369-31, 11 October 1892.

offer from Grimsby to receive more boys into the steam trawlers in the Grimsby Ice Company's fleet.⁴⁰ Conditions at Grimsby were so appalling that the experiments were ultimately unsuccessful for the port itself, with one ship owner complaining that 'he would only prefer to take boys, say orphans, who would be likely to remain with him'.⁴¹ This was a continual embarrassment to the Captain and supports some of Mahmoud and Hurt's theses as to the generally exploitative and cruel practices of industrial school ships. Nevertheless, the *Shaftesbury's* relationship with the market was being constantly renegotiated during my research period to obtain more secure roles for its inmates. Its integration with mercantile and military shipping interests in the two decades from 1878 was haphazard and complex, but greatly improved thereafter as it achieved successful agreements with large maritime employers.

The most significant changes to the relationship between the *Shaftesbury* and employers emerge just as my research window closes. In October 1898, Major Skinner, as head of the SMC, encouraged the Home Office to make a 'representation...to the President of the Board of Trade as to the desirability of steps being taken to apprentice in the Mercantile Marine boys who have been trained in certified Industrial School Ships, on the payment by the Government of a premium, for a period of two years in the case of each boys apprentice...'⁴² As Home Office documents in the National Archive show, there were effective negotiations occurring in the early 1900s with large, commercial steamships.⁴³ The evidence from Bovill's account of the *Wellesley* suggests this timescale was common to industrial training ships.⁴⁴ The *Shaftesbury's* inspection report for 1902 lists a proportion of inmates sent to sea that is impressive when compared with the previous two decades. From 147 inmates that left the ship to employment or friends during July 1901-1902, 13 went to the Royal Navy, 31 to

⁴⁰ LMA/SBL/0369-31, 11 October 1892.

⁴¹ LMA/SBL/0369-402, 19 June 1894.

⁴² Letter dated 6 September, recorded in LMA/SBL/0371-248, 2 October 1898.

⁴³ National Archive, M 209/1901: Board of Trade Marine Department Documentation and Correspondence with Scriven.

⁴⁴ 'Owners of steam ships did not want apprentices, only trained men, and it was not until the end of the century that steamship owners fulfilled their patriotic duty by signing apprentices': Bovill, p. 136.

Army and Navy Bands, and 66 to the merchant service.⁴⁵ The companies listed as taking boys are larger than when berths were negotiated individually between inmate and ship, including 'The P&O Steamship Company, The Orient Pacific Steam Navigation Company, The Atlantic Transport Company.'⁴⁶ Crucially, it also seems that the companies shared values with the *Shaftesbury*. The captain notes, 'I am very grateful to the Marine Superintendent of the [companies listed] above for the interest they take in the welfare of our boys...a number of whom have made several voyages, and have been advanced to the rating of ordinary and able seamen.'⁴⁷ The large companies with their predictable culture, management systems, and safety provisions, stood in direct contrast to the 'private' regimes of individual ships. Hart's critique of industrial school ships fails engage with the changes not just in employment statistics but also in welfare that came with the agreements between the *Shaftesbury* and the large liner companies. The steam companies represented the new stability of the mercantile market for training ships, with standardised, public apprenticeships. The companies were based on steam passenger routes, an irony that must have not been lost on anyone that witnessed the lengths the Board went to converting the *Shaftesbury* from a P&O passenger steamer to a mock sail ship.⁴⁸ Although Mahmoud sees industrial schools ships' integration with large maritime employers as exploitative, the *Shaftesbury* integration with the major steamship companies appears an improvement for its inmates. Indeed, only at the very end of my research window, when large, stable contracts were negotiated directly with steam-ship lines was the ship able to guarantee safer and reliable employment at sea for its inmates.

⁴⁵ *Report of the Training Ship "Shaftesbury" for the Year Ended 25th July, 1902* The School Board for London (London: School Board for London Alexander and Shephard, 1902), p. 6

⁴⁶ *Report of the Training Ship "Shaftesbury" for the Year Ended 25th July, 1902* The School Board for London (London: School Board for London Alexander and Shephard, 1902), p. 6

⁴⁷ *Report of the Training Ship "Shaftesbury" for the Year Ended 25th July, 1902* The School Board for London (London: School Board for London Alexander and Shephard, 1902), p. 6

⁴⁸ Whilst embracing pedagogical and aesthetic progressivism, the management had never considered breaking from the most limiting tradition of the training ship: its curriculum based around sail drills.

What of the *Shaftesbury* and its relationship with the market *during* my research period, however? Given that the *Shaftesbury* knowingly indentured inmates to situations as difficult as those in Grimsby or on the *Antiope*, questions remain about the SMC's management of the *Shaftesbury* as a commercial venture during the maritime recession. In addition to industrial and reformatory school ships, there were a host of other 'charity' school ships moored around the country in the last decades of the nineteenth century which appears to have increased competition to find berths.⁴⁹ These training ships adopted commercial practices, hiring their own shipping agents on commission, setting up 'Shipping Homes' in major ports. The SMC were slow to similarly commercialize the ship, contributing to the *Shaftesbury's* need to rely on unscrupulous employers, although they eventually became more a-tuned to the market. Efforts began in a truly amateur fashion, with the ISC suggesting the Sailing Master, Mr Steel, take boys down to the local docks in Winter months to find berths.⁵⁰ In February the following year, Steel applied for a licence to be the *Shaftesbury's* Shipping Agent.⁵¹ By the mid 1880s, there is mention of a shipping agent called Captain Peek being supplied with a 'suit of uniform a year' (after asking originally for two).⁵² During the late 1880s, another shipping agent, Mr Roo, who had proved 'fairly successful in finding ships for boys', was paid a heavy commission of £1 per berth found. Roo also marked the start of the *Shaftesbury* as a physical presence in ports: the SMS agreed to furnish him with a blind 'marked "*Shaftesbury* Shipping Agent," for his front window'. There followed shipping

⁴⁹ LMA/SBL/0370-61, 26 March 1895: replies from a variety of charity institutions which were written to by Scriven to get advice on whether Cardiff was a good place to establish a 'Home' for inmates looking for berths. The reply from Dr Barnado's Homes, which had a 'very ordinary and simple' shipping home of its own in the port is typical: 'I do not write in any dog-in-the-manger spirit: far from it. But it is a fact, that it has been more difficult than usual to get suitable opening; and if further competition is brought into the limited area and is successful, it can only be so by "starving out" those who have been on the ground before,' wrote Barnado's Secretary.

⁵⁰ LMA/SBL/0364-168, 13 December 1881.

⁵¹ LMA/SBL/0364-215, 21 February 1882.

⁵² LMA/SBL/0365-306, 3 March 1885.

agents' offices in London⁵³ and 'homes' in the busy port of Cardiff (first on the '*Havannah* Industrial School Ship', latterly as a bespoke 'old boys' home). These were direct material responses to changes in the commercial market. In December 1889, the captain noted that 'there had been a falling off in the number of boys sent to sea owing to the disturbed state of the affairs still existing at the docks' and called for 'a home, where old boys, as well as ship boys, might be constantly near the agent' to enable them to take advantage of the kind of quick, short term opportunities that did present.⁵⁴ In his official inspection report, HM Inspector Legge notes that 'The arrangement for lodging boys on the '*Havannah*' at Cardiff last year seemed to be working well'.⁵⁵ Not only did it share the institutional culture common to most of the industrial school ships of the day – including paid rewards to inmate petty officers – but it also had admirable discharge statistics.⁵⁶ By the time the decision was being made about temporary homes in Cardiff, Scriven and the SMC were in contact with other institutions – Barnado's as well as industrial schools and ships – to ask advice on best practice. The *Shaftesbury* was late to an already overcrowded market in 'charity' berths.

In the mid-1890s, there is some evidence of tensions between political and commercial interests in the SMC's Committee Room, and of compromises being made in the interests of securing berths. My research window coincides not only with a depressed shipping market but also an unprecedented level of politicisation of the industry. This was felt directly on training ships, with Bovill noting that during the 1887 coal strike the *Wellesley* was forced to return boys home as ships were refusing to sign on crews.⁵⁷ Landmarks of the period include the 1889 'Great' Dockers Strikes and the formation of anti-union organisations by ship owners, most notably the Shipping Federation in 1890. In the summer of 1894, Scriven received correspondence from a director of Watts, Ward and Co. 'of London, Newcastle, &c'

⁵³ LMA/SBL/0371-263, 26 October 1898.

⁵⁴ LMA/SBL/0368-84, 2 December 1890.

⁵⁵ LMA/SBL/0371-214, 28 June 1898.

⁵⁶ *South Wales Echo*, 13 June 1898, p. 4.

⁵⁷ Bovill, p. 135.

Stating that his firm had already placed apprentices on board 2 or 3 of their steamers, and that it was intended to supply their whole fleet with apprentices, beginning with 2 for each steamer, and that if other steamship owners followed their example there would soon be a good demand for apprentices.⁵⁸

Amongst all the mentions of maritime employers, the letter stands alone in both its positivity and optimism.⁵⁹ The SMC, buoyed by the news, 'decided to communicate with some of the principal steamship owners with a view to obtaining more berths for inmates on ocean-going vessels'. It is therefore surprising to find that the subsequent 'promise' of the Shipping Federation to receive inmates was met with less enthusiasm, with a motion being tabled that the 'Committee have no dealings' with the group.⁶⁰ The motion was defeated 5:4 but reveals that even such a fundamental task as placing boys on ships became politicised through the SBL. The SMC often had a working majority of Progressive Party members and whilst the Shipping Federation was viewed as a potentially large employer, it also political anathema to many members owing to its anti-union stance.⁶¹ The issue was serious enough for the names of both sides to have been copied into the SMC Minutes.⁶² The motion reveals some of the complexities facing the SMC, with even Progressive Members eventually voting in an ethical compromise, giving *Shaftesbury* inmates the opportunity of the comparative security of steamer work, whilst inadvertently supporting the anti-union agenda that would drive down security within the industry. The existence of such a debate within the SMC, however, shows that the *Shaftesbury* was never simply an unthinking tool of the industrial merchant marine, but possessed, at the very least, doubts about the broader dangers and cruelties of the industry. It

⁵⁸ LMA/SBL/0369-402, 19 June 1894.

⁵⁹ For comparison, it accompanied a letter from an agent in Swansea stating that the prospect of placing *Shaftesbury* boys from that port was 'very rare'.

⁶⁰ LMA/SBL/0369-406, 19 June 1894.

⁶¹ John Saville, 'Trade Unions and Free Labour: The Background to the Taff Vale Decision', in *Essays in Labour History* ed by Asa Briggs and John Saville (London: Macmillan, 1960), pp. 317-349.

⁶² The voting, though politicized, was typically complex. Forwarded by progressive member Rev Hamilton, it was opposed by fellow progressive member Miss Eve: LMA/SBL/0369-406, 19 June 1894.

is somewhat ironic, however, that such concerns were expressed against the political act of de-unionisation rather than the private cruelties of the Grimsby trade or the practices of ships such as the *Antiope*.

Section Two: Selection and Agency

5.2.0 'Sent to sea'? Acknowledging agency

Hurt's depiction of the merchant marine and fishing smacks that awaited *Shaftesbury* boys as harsh and dangerous environments reflects realities of the day, yet only a minority of *Shaftesbury* inmates would ever work at sea. Beginning with the year 1897-98, the Home Office amended the requirements for annual returns, making it necessary for the ship to list the exact occupations that boys were released into.⁶³ As the 'old boy' re-disposals from Summer 1897 in *Table 4* suggests, the majority of inmates eventually found land work, including those retiring after a brief time at sea. The 'New Cases' listed for the same period illustrate how precarious the ability of Scriven to send boys to sea remained late into the 1890s. Of 15 boys listed as having served their sentences, 7 were licensed to their parents and 3 sent to sea. Most telling is the remainder, who are discussed in ways that suggests a desperation to send them to sea at any cost:

A. Chapman:	To go to sea, or to be kept on board for a further period of detention.
E. Whenmonth:	Captain-Superintendent to try and arrange for the boy to go to sea.
E.Cocklin:	As Above
A. Collins:	To be kept on board for the present, and then sent to sea if possible. ⁶⁴

⁶³ Circular from HM Inspector of Schools recorded in LMA/SBL/0371-132, 10 January 1898.

⁶⁴ LMA/SBL/0371-42, 19 October 1897.

Both contemporary writers⁶⁵ and modern historians⁶⁶ have sometimes presented the journey from 'charity' training ship to mercantile fleet as a sort of automatic process, completely misrepresenting both the difficulty finding berths and the agency awarded inmates. In practice, the phrase 'sent to sea' really signified that an inmate had chosen to go to sea for a single voyage. The *Shaftesbury's* legal powers, particularly with regard to 'recalling' boys to the ship were expanded towards the end of my research period, yet there were no powers by which a boy could be sent to sea against his will. In March 1894, for example, after considering that eight boys due to soon leave had 'refused' to give consent to be sent to sea, Scriven glumly noted that 'there was no alternative but to return the boys to their friends'.⁶⁷ The variety of opportunities that were presented in the mercantile marine for boys to abscond from unwanted berths meant that coercing boys to sea would have had little success. This was not quite the case with boys sent to the Services. In May 1898, the 'disposal of boys' tables that the *Shaftesbury* Clerk 'laid upon the table' at the SMC meeting that contained the note 'G. Wheeler – License to Army, but do not allow parents to see boy.'⁶⁸

The *Shaftesbury* faced issues not only with sending boys to sea, but trying to keep them there. The commitment of resources to the re-employment of former inmates at sea increased considerably during my research period, although the provision was not universal. When the captain asked the SMC for general agreement to provide destitute 'old boys' with an extra sea kit for re-shipping he was told that each 'case must be dealt with on its merits'.⁶⁹ The requests for assistance from 'old boys' listed in *Table 5*, show how stringently the extension of provision was policed. The SMC vetted the cases according to welfare criteria rather than treating them as opportunities to improve their 'to sea' statistics. The reasons for re-shipping appear complex, and often appear solely as attempts to rescue 'old boys' from extreme deprivation on land. Thus, in April 1885, an inmate (Frank Bennett) discharged less than two months before was found to be

⁶⁵ Antrobus, *Training Schools*; Brassey, *How Best*.

⁶⁶ Mahood, *Policing*.

⁶⁷ LMA/SBL/0369-343, 6 March 1894.

⁶⁸ LMA/SBL/0371-205, 18 May 1898.

⁶⁹ LMA/SBL/0367-319, 6 May 1890.

in a 'wretched condition' by the Industrial Schools Officer: the solution was to ask that 'the Captain...was instructed to supply him with whatever outfit might be necessary' to assist with getting him a sea-role.⁷⁰ In the list of 'old boys' welfare given as part of the *Shaftesbury's* DCRIC submissions, the ship's uniform once again re-appears as a symbolic force. The account is littered with former inmates found bootless or in 'rags', often having sold part of their clothing for food. Re-issued uniforms here meant economic transformation, but also signalled a level of membership of the *Shaftesbury* community beyond that sometimes awarded those leavers not involved with sea trades. Thus sixteen year-old Jeremiah Brain, with 'no home or friends' was sent to a 'Home for Working Boys', whilst two 'old boys' found in a 'destitute condition' were supplied with kits and given to the agent to re-berth them.⁷¹ However justified at the time, the *Shaftesbury's* piecemeal re-shipping now appear as ineffective attempts to ameliorate the deprivation of employment cycles and structural inequality. Whilst re-shipping offered a lifeline to destitute 'old boys' it was also deployed very selectively.

'Old Boy' Name	Disposal
W. Arundell	To be provided with berths and supplied with kits
W.J. Cubbidge	
E. Massey	
W. Moyes	
H.R. Farmer	To be provided with a berth, but no kit supplied
A. Butlin	To be supplied with some necessary clothing
A. F. Ince	
W. G. Girling	Employed as kitchen boy at the London Tavern
W. Bristow	Employed as warehouse boy at the Nottingham Hosiery Co.
H. J. Levett	Returned to parents
W.H. Turner	Employed at a Wholesale Druggists [sic]

⁷⁰ LMA/SBL/0365-325, 12 April 1885.

⁷¹ LMA/SBL/0368-90, 2 December 1890.

E. Andrews	Employed as boy at a Builder's
G. Griffiths	Employed at a Furniture Dealer's
H.G Hewitt	Employed at a Furniture Dealer's
G. Burton	Employed at a Furniture Dealer's
W. Gibbons	Employed as van guard, Midland Railway

Table 4: As the 'old boy' re-disposals from Summer 1897

'Old Boy' Name	Decision
Saunders J	Decline application
Gibbs A	Decline application
Powell F	Permit Shipping Agent to obtain a berth for him but supply no second kit
Goodwyn W	Application refused
Massey E	Application refused
King A	Application refused
Poulton A	Application refused
Marlin W	Application refused
Gates E	Application to be sent to sea agreed to

Table 5: Decisions on applications from 'old boys' for assistance during the summer 'recess' 1898.⁷²

5.2.1 Selective Practices and Inter-institutional Agency

The Captain's Report from April 1886 paints a grim but all too common picture of the *Shaftesbury's* ability to find berths in the depressed shipping sector that accompanied my research window: 'to sea, 3. To army bands, 3; To employment on shore, 3; Claimed by friends, 8...the shipping interest continued dull and slack'. The troubles that the *Shaftesbury* faced with finding berths for its inmates, and the criticism this provoked, led to an increase in selective practices during

⁷² A complete representation of table 'Applications from Old Boys' 'dealt with by the Chairman of the SMC during July to October 1898: LMA/SBL/0371.

my research period. It is no coincidence that the April 1886 Report contained a request to transfer of four boys, a hitherto unprecedented number in a single report, from the ship for physical and mental unsuitability for sea-faring. As Scriven's 1895 testimony supports, the *Shaftesbury* had been careful to select the most physically and mentally 'strong' boys where possible. In fact the *Shaftesbury* exploited loopholes and networked informally to establish ways of maintaining boys with the correct physical and mental attributes for the market. This often revolved around health. As will be discussed in the next chapter, cases of transfers from the ship to land-based schools invariably involved physical impairment.⁷³ The case of inmate J. Neal, who, as he was 'suffering from some defect of the eyes, should be transferred to an Industrial School [sic] on land' in October 1893, shows how pathways between institutions were negotiated. The East End Industrial School agreed to take Neal as long as 'the sight of only one eye was affected'.⁷⁴ In the early-1890s mandatory health checks and quarantine for new inmates arriving to board the ship was being muted for the first time.⁷⁵ Continued pressure on numbers recruited for sea meant that the selection process continued long after boys joined the ship, with eyesight being the most common issue and one that usually ended in immediate transfer.⁷⁶ When medical quarantine forms were drawn up for institutions feeding boys into the *Shaftesbury*, 'bad eyesight and other defects' was included.⁷⁷

⁷³ Inmate Frederick Western, for example, was sent to *Brentwood Industrial School* as he suffered fits: LMA/SBL/0371-213, 28 June 1898.

⁷⁴ It was, and they did: LMA/SBL/0369-278, 14 November 1893. Only the month before, in the Minutes of the meeting for 17 October 1893 it is recorded that another boy was sent from the ship to *Field Lane Industrial School*, such movement being relatively commonplace in the case of slight health considerations: LMA/SBL/0369-237.

⁷⁵ LMA/SBL/0369-95, 20 December 1892. Davenport Hill seconded the examination of boys before entry and medical certs. A few page later a boy is said to be admitted with scabies, see chapter seven,

⁷⁶ LMA/SBL/0369-204, 20 June 1893, for example, boy with poor eyesight sent to *Field Lane Industrial school*.

⁷⁷ LMA/SBL/0369-297, 12 December 1893: This follows the trialling of spectacles on three boys with defective eyesight.

Less than four years after the *Shaftesbury* opened, Scriven made a highly unusual use of his quarterly report to the SMC, setting out a series of measures he deemed necessary for the ship to 'prove a success' and 'and carry out the work for which she is established' in the face of difficult market conditions. It is perhaps no coincidence that the same report showed that out of twenty-seven inmates discharged, none were sent to sea.⁷⁸ Amongst the six recommendations we find:

- (a) That 'well-built robust boys of proper size'⁷⁹ should only be selected for the Ship; that permission to send boys to sea or into the Services should be obtained at admission rather than discharge
- (b) That boys professing to be unwilling, and those physically unsuited, to be sent to sea should be transferred to appropriate land institutions.⁸⁰

The primary bodily practices of the ship were less concerned with facilitating militaristic embodiment or professional habitus than sourcing the correct physique and attitudes for employability. Hurt reminds us that whilst industrial and reformatory school ships, which had limited powers of choice and expulsion under Home Office guidelines, also had only about 60% of boys going to sea, the privately run *Arethusa* and *Chichester* 'charity training ships' which were free to select or refuse boys had a consistent sea-rate of around 90%.⁸¹ Scriven's action-plan involved formalizing and developing the *Shaftesbury* as a networked institution, focussing on the re-distribution of boys to and from other residential institutions. Transfers onto the ship from other institutions were comparatively common but piecemeal until the mid-1890 and revolved around inmate choice. In March 1882, for example, two boys 'admitted were transferred from *Brentwood* and one from *St Swithuns* – both land-based industrial schools – from a total admission of six.⁸² The indication is that such boys professed an interest in going to sea. In 1893, the parents of FG Weeks, who was serving a sentence at *Mayford* Industrial School in Surrey petitioned the *Shaftesbury* that their son be

⁷⁸ LMA/SBL/0364-184, 10 January 1882.

⁷⁹ LMA/SBL/0364-185, 10 January 1882.

⁸⁰ LMA/SBL/0364-185, 10 January 1882.

⁸¹ Hurt, *Outside the Mainstream*.

⁸² LMA/SBL/SBL-0364-227, 7 March 1882.

transferred to the ship, this was done after the Home Secretary granted a warrant.⁸³ The instance points to a surprising degree of parental choice that could operate within the system.

It was not until 1894 that a formal system of re-distribution onto the ship was given official sanction. In that year

[w]ith the approval of the Committee, a circular has been sent to the Boys' Industrial Schools, with which the Board have agreements, asking whether there are any suitable cases which can be transferred to the ship, on the understanding that the vacancies in the respective schools thereby created would be at once filled up by new Board cases.⁸⁴

The immediate response was the transferral of ten boys from three industrial schools (*Bath, Boys' Home, and Purbrook*) with a further four schools replying that they were unable to send boys at the current time (*Desford, Dorset, Field-Lane, Essex*). The reasons given by the institutions speak to the various ways in which the agreement was interpreted, and the degree to which inmate choice was safeguarded. Inmates to be transferred to the ship are discussed by their land-schools as 'suitable for sea life' and 'willing to be transferred' (*Bath, Purbrook*), having 'expressed a wish to be transferred to the "Shaftesbury" (*Boys Home*)'. Refusals similarly emphasize the disposition of the inmate or school in their accounts. *Dorset Boys'* Industrial school stated 'that there are no London boys in the school who are inclined for a sea life'. Field-Lane, somewhat defensively, that 'there are no boys at the school whom they are willing to transfer'. The closure of *St Swithun's* Industrial School in 1898, combined with a surplus of spaces on the *Shaftesbury*, precipitated a new era in the ship's relationship with related institutions. The closure was seen by the Sir Matthew Ridley, the Home Secretary, as a 'good opportunity' for all concerned:

Boys fitted for the '*Shaftesbury*' should certainly be transferred thereto from *St Swithun's*; and in the other schools to which the Board sends boys, a number might be found fitted for transfer to the same ship, thus

⁸³ LMA/SBL/0369-152, 7 March 1893.

⁸⁴ LMA/SBL/0370-11, 11 December 1894.

releasing places at such Shore schools for boys now at St Swithun's who are not fitted for the '*Shaftesbury*'.⁸⁵

Whilst what Ridley proposed was not new, the matter benefitted from the attention of the Home Secretary. In the Captain's report of 31 January 1899 forty-five inmates are listed as arriving on board in the first wave from other institutions.⁸⁶ At least six shore industrial schools, including *St Swythuns*, had agreed to send boys to the ship during December of the previous year.⁸⁷ Transferrals within this loose network depended on inmates' physical fitness for ship work, but Ridley also specified that they must profess to 'have a taste for the sea'.⁸⁸ The degree to which inmate choice was allowed to operate in the process remains debatable. *Shaftesbury* representatives were sent to into industrial schools in December 1898 to 'select' boys 'thought fit' for the ship, an important difference from the 1894 Circular, when industrial schools themselves were asked to forward names. With the *Shaftesbury* suffering so much from inmates refusing to go to sea, or absconding from berths, it is likely that the inmates' preference for sea-faring remained a fundamental condition for the transferral process. The consideration of inmates' interests – literally their interests in career type – is remarkable given the reputation of industrial schools outlined in the introduction to this chapter and thesis. Ironically, the consideration was a condition set by the free market of the mercantile marine and allied to the marketization of the *Shaftesbury* that simultaneously reduced inmates' to their potential economic function.

⁸⁵ Letter sent from Home Secretary Sir Matthew Ridley to the SMC, 25 November 1898 recorded in LMA/SBL/0371-329, 1 February 1899.

⁸⁶ LMA/SBL/0371-333, 15 February 1899.

⁸⁷ *St Swithun's, Field-Lane, East London, Boy's Home, Clifton Wood and Walsham Industrial Schools*.

⁸⁸ Letter sent from Home Secretary Sir Matthew Ridley to the SMC, 25 November 1898 recorded in LMA/SBL/0371-329, 1 February 1899.

Conclusion: From Habitus To Market Integration

The timeline of the *Shaftesbury*, in its relation to the marine sector, could be said to move from danger, uncertainty, and coercion towards the negotiation of better working conditions and concessions to inmate agency and choice. Instrumental in this was the successful negotiation of agreements with the large steamer companies that provided safer and more comfortable positions than the last-resort roles offered on Grimsby fishing smacks, and the development of inter-institutional pathways for inmates interested, or disinterested, in the marine industry. Literature on industrial schools and ships has tended to focus on the regimes as physically moulding environments, or 'regimes of training',⁸⁹ omitting mention of the constant selection processes at work on board. The omission has led to over simplified accounts of both the industrial school as a discrete institution, and the agency awarded inmates. The free market of the mercantile marine, however, necessitated that the *Shaftesbury* maintain a population not only physically strong enough for the sea trade, but inclined to *choose* service in the mercantile marine. The primary function of the *Shaftesbury* was thus not to enforce 'tasks geared to transform the inmates into useful, unskilled labouring bodies',⁹⁰ but to maintain a population that was both physically capable of undertaking work at sea, and had expressed interest in working at sea.

The commitment to sail technology and training on both industrial training ships and officer training ships during the period has been labelled a cultural rather than practical endeavour. Bovill has argued that industrial schools ships' commitment to sail training cost inmates positions with the passenger steamers that came to dominate the seas in the late nineteenth century.⁹¹ It likely played some part in delaying the *Shaftesbury* forming employment contracts with the larger companies, although the state of the industry and the politics of unionisation also may have been an issue. The poet John Masefield, who spent several years aboard the HMS *Conway* during the early 1890s later suggested

⁸⁹ Ashurt and Venn, p. 150.

⁹⁰ Ashurt and Venn, p. 150.

⁹¹ Bovill, p. 136.

that the ship's similar commitment to antiquated sail drill was in accordance with Royal Navy, rather than merchant marine, training practices, and relied on equipment and routines decades out of date.⁹² The anachronism appears well into the twentieth century. Lamenting the failings of training ships to teach new skills, the Chief Inspector of Industrial and Reformatory Schools complained in 1911 '[o]f course you must remember that on ships now you will not find any hemp rope. If you go on one of the old training ships you will find practically nothing but hemp rope for the boys to practice with'.⁹³ Whilst this may have sufficed on Royal Navy training ships, which conferred status and provided a direct route to a career, it appears to have had the opposite results on the *Shaftesbury*.

The benefit of sail training, viewed through the lens of late nineteenth-century training vessels, was likely in the level of professional habitus and enculturation it provided inmates in a relatively short time. In combination with the progression through the Revised Code 'Standards' in the Schoolroom, inmates also progressed along a seamanship syllabus from 4th to 1st Class around the ship. The syllabus was designed to completely equip the inmates for work on a sail ship: 'climbing the rigging and sail handling could be experienced...[s]mall boat work, often a weakness in larger ship, could develop rowing, steering and sailing skills; class work taught the knowledge of compass, the lead line and the log...practical classes taught knotting, slicing, canvas work, cookery and swimming'.⁹⁴ Kennerley maintains that such skills would still provide a baseline of utility for the iron steamers that began to dominate the mercantile marine during my research period, as well as immersing trainees in the diverse culture of shipping. Proof of this lies in the variety of ships on which *Shaftesbury* inmates are shown to have served in the discussion above which include fishing smacks, ocean-going sail ships, and steamers.

⁹² Bovill, p. 101.

⁹³ *Evidence of the Departmental Committee on Reformatory and Industrial Schools* (London: HMSO, 1913), transcript of Mr T D Robertson (Chief Inspector of Reformatory and industrial schools), 5 April 1911, l. 736.

⁹⁴ Kennerley, 'Ratings', p. 35.

Immersion in sail-ship culture, though surfeit to the requirements of the steamer industry, embodied values and habits in inmates that would have proved valuable in the broader sea-trade culture. Sail training functioned as a complete spatiotemporal regime that regulated inmates' lives in a series of watches, divisions and classes that timetabled their days. Scriven detailed something of the complexities of this routine in the DCRIC interview:

[Q:] Are your boys divided into sections, or do they form one ship's company?

[Scriven:] They form a ship's company, but they are divided into watches the same as on board any ship. As we are certified for 500 boys, we have five divisions of 100 boys when full, and of course each division is divided into a starboard and a port watch. So we can either work together by divisions or by one division, or by both watches or by one watch.

[Q:] Would a boy in the starboard watch be always under the same officer?

[Scriven:] No, that is according to his class. The work of the ship, such as cleaning and manning boats or hoisting boats, is done by watches, but the boys in the various classes according to the age. For instance, a boy on first coming to the ship would be in the fourth class of seamanship, and [148] yet he might be in the fifth division on the starboard watch.⁹⁵

This professional habitus also would have been a valuable rites-of-passage for inmates such as Smith on the *Blaenavon*, proving worth and making allies amongst a crew of 'old salts'. Bourdieu defines habitus as

generative principles of distinct and distinctive practices – what the worker eats, and especially the way he eats it, the sport he practices and the way he practices it, his political opinions and the way he expresses them are systematically different from the industrial owner's corresponding activities.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, pp. 147-8, l. 5411-12.

⁹⁶ Bourdieu, *Practical*, p. 8.

Ironically, given the pedagogically progressive and 'luxurious' aspects of the *Shaftesbury's* culture, the institution chose a proletarian, backward-looking variety of sea-training for its inmates. Whilst history may record the problems generated or accentuated by this decision, we must also draw attention to the cultural capital it awarded the inmates as they struggled for employment and friendship in the turbulent dock culture of the late nineteenth century.

Chapter Six: ‘a sort of restlessness to be observed’: Isolation and Border Practices

Introduction

Inmates in industrial schools, JS Hurt suggests, ‘underwent a disciplined and oppressive routine of hard work, severe punishment, austere living conditions, and a Spartan diet to eradicate the alleged defects of their characters, the evil influence of their previous environment, and the sins of their fathers.’¹ Previous sections of this thesis have sought to challenge and nuance the applicability of such generalisation to the *Shaftesbury*’s use of punishment, living conditions, and diet. There remain, however, questions to answer regarding the ship’s management of the ‘evil influence’ of inmates’ home lives. This forms the focus of this chapter.

In both contemporary accounts and recent literature, industrial schools have been discussed as ‘moral hospitals’. When reformer Mary Carpenter first used the phrase, it posed the institutions as morally purifying and transformative spaces: quarantining and isolating inmates from their corrupting home environments, healing their characters. It was a narrative that reinforced the notion of the industrial school – and school ship – as a heavily bordered community. Favourable contemporary accounts of the *Shaftesbury* accordingly describe such practices in boldly metaphorical terms, with entry onto the *Shaftesbury* cleansing inmates of the moral dirt of the street, or civilizing the animalistic ‘street arab’. The notion of industrial schools as physically isolating moral treatment zones has also often been referenced, although seldom challenged, in their historiography. Both Margaret May and Gillian Gear have noted the centrality of Mary Carpenter’s notion of ‘moral hospitals’ to the understanding the industrial schools, although interpreting it in simple terms of

¹ Hurt, ‘Reformatory and Industrial’, p. 49.

a refuge for neglected children,² or by alluding to the fact that inmates ‘could be taught high standards of behaviour’ at the institutions when kept distant from the models they were provided with at home.³ In 2014 the phrase reappeared in literature on industrial schools, when Ian Miller interrogated the practices of the Irish industrial school and reformatory system against an expansive, post-Foucauldian reading of the phrase.⁴ Miller’s work suggests that the term ‘moral hospital’ in the writings of Carpenter is used to designate industrial schools as offering treatment for the ‘grievous moral disease’ affecting ‘perishing’ children, noting that Irish industrial schools ‘were initially designed as healthy environments juxtaposed to the criminal settings where the “dangerous classes” were reared’.⁵ The article posits that ‘bio-psychological paradigms’ which ‘identified the bodies and minds of child criminals as having abnormally developed in the absence of nurturing parental interest’ were used as rationales for industrial schools’ need to completely isolate inmates from their homes.⁶

Despite the recurrence of isolation as a theme in industrial school literature, there has been little presentation of actual rationales or practices. I have labelled these practices ‘border practices’ as they are concerned with rationalizing, closing, opening, or negotiating ‘borders’ between inmates and their home environments. The ‘border practices’ of the *Shaftesbury* appear far more complex than Hurt suggests. The SBL suffused its institutions with its distinct interventionist rationale, which painted SBL space as inherently more sanitary, civilized and improving than the working-class environments compulsory

² ‘[Industrial schools]...were to act as moral hospitals and provide corrective training to which children, as wards of state and victims of neglect rather than fully responsible law-breakers, were entitled’, in Gear, p. 19.

³ Although somewhat out of fashion, the definition did draw upon semantics contemporary with industrial schools. A number of large towns in the mid-century had ‘Moral and Industrial Schools’ run along different lines, and subject to different authorities, than certified industrial schools. ‘Moral’ in such cases was loosely synonymous with ‘character’.

⁴ Ian Miller, ‘Constructing “Moral Hospitals”: Improving Bodies and Minds in Irish Reformatory and Industrial Schools c.1851-1890,’ in *Growing Pains: A History of Childhood Illnesses in Ireland* ed by Anne Mac Lellan and Alice Mauger (Irish Academic Press, 2013), pp. 105-22.

⁵ Miller, p. 108.

⁶ Miller, p. 108.

attendance was rescuing children from. This discourse, vital to understanding the *Shaftesbury*'s defence in the public sphere as well as its physical architecture, is explored in section one of this chapter. The 'border' of the *Shaftesbury*, I suggest, was rationalized between the unsanitary working class home and the industrial-scale paternal domesticity of the ship. It was intrinsically judgmental and interventionist, preferring to keep inmates in the supposed physically and morally sanitary environment of the *Shaftesbury* rather than license them back early to homes displaying poor domestic practice. The debates surrounding the appropriateness of a maternal 'matron' on board – which Scriven never allowed – complicates Miller's focusing on 'nurturing' as concern in policing the home.

Significantly, however, the *Shaftesbury* was also committed to maintaining contact between inmates and their families. Indeed, as I will discuss in section two, the border practices encouraged limited interaction between inmates and their families as a way of improving both domestic standards and relationships. Perhaps due to the unique institutional genealogy of the *Shaftesbury*, as both SBL 'show boat' and training ship, the ship's 'border practices' were surprisingly open and involved welcoming visitors and guests as a means of instilling pride in specific forms of identity amongst inmates. The role of external gaze and the participation in spectacle are absent from the existing literature on industrial school ships, but are presented here as one of the most significant aspects of its culture.

The final sub-section of the chapter seeks to challenge the suggestion, found in Hurt and Miller, *et al*, that industrial schools operated as discrete administrative bodies. Administratively, as I have outlined in chapter four and five, the *Shaftesbury* operated inter-institutionally: transferring inmates according to moral or physical 'failings' and opening the ship to inmates from other institutions and areas who professed an interest in the marine industry. The 'downgrading' of specific inmates to reformatory ships and the offering of places on the ship to industrial school inmates from shore who expressed an interest in sea-training were practices based on the individuation of inmates within the system. Given the freedoms awarded inmates to visit home, Section 6.2.1

attempts to redefine the materiality of the *Shaftesbury's* borders in terms of the materiality of the inmates' uniform, suggesting an alternative technology of individuation at play in the ship's culture. In lieu of a 'hard border' keeping inmates within the confines of the institution, and the importance placed on external gaze in the culture of the ship, uniform constituted a transformative practice, I suggest; ingraining the inmate with institutional and commercial identity that acted as a barrier to their former life.

Section One

6.1.0 *The Sanitising Ship: Discursive Borders*

In this section, I will begin by discussing the metaphors that constructed the borders of the *Shaftesbury* in contemporary discourse, and the way in which associations of dirt and purification were used in a particular way by those who supported the SBL's social agenda.

Whilst the working-class streets of London were doubtless literally unsanitary and dirty during the late nineteenth century,⁷ they also existed as locations of metaphorical filth, beastliness and contagion. Otter has drawn attention to the way grime besmirches the working class in the Victorian social imaginary, suggesting that it represented the urban poor's 'untouchable' financial, legal, social status.⁸ Arguably this association reaches its most extreme in the late Victorian discourse that sought to address the imagined degradation of the nation, where the proletariat was likened to polluting excrement and beasts. We can see evidence of this in the general discursive waters in which the *Shaftesbury* moved. In Samuel Smith's pamphlets from the 1880s advocating industrial training for street children, for example, we find that the poor, before intervention, 'herd together' 'in single rooms as foul as pigsties' and 'filthy

⁷ Lee Jackson, *Dirty Old London: The Victorian Fight Against Filth* (London: Yale University Press, 2014).

⁸ Otter, p. 54

dens'.⁹ The poor themselves, being 'at home' in filth, have an ambiguous relationship to it: not quite victims of dirt or miasma, but somehow, through their morality, part of its propagation. Unless progressive reform is instituted, the poor stagnate 'corrupting and being corrupted, like the sewerage of the metropolis which remained floating at the mouth of the Thames last summer because there was not scour sufficient to propel it into the sea.'¹⁰ The literal waters that the *Shaftesbury* floated in, as Smith reminds us, were awash with the waste of the city.¹¹ Given this, it is perhaps surprising that the colourful critiques of the ship in contemporary conservative press did not make more metaphorical use of the dirty Thames or working-class streets. Whilst there are occasional appearances of dirt-related epithets – the *Morning Post*'s discussion of the 'offscourings of the London streets'¹² for example – the conservative press preferred to associate dirt and contagion with the SBL's new public school spaces instead of the working class environments. Thus, for *John Bull*, it was the SBL's new school regimes and spaces that were causing 'the name of education to stink in the nostrils of the public; it harasses parents, bullies children, and occasionally destroys their health'.¹³ These miasmatic metaphors were deployed against the SBL, not the proletariat, and the targets were compulsive education and its practices *sui generis*: the entailments of interventionist education policy; the habits of the SBL administration. Even when the journal did turn towards metaphors of dirt that involved the Thames and the *Shaftesbury*, they were muted and sought to besmirch only the administrative incompetence of the SBL. *John Bull*, for example, noted that money had been wasted 'hopelessly and

⁹ Samuel Smith, *The Industrial Training of Destitute Children* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co, 1885), p. 6.

¹⁰ Smith, *The Industrial Training*, p. 11.

¹¹ Also the waste of the *Shaftesbury*. The Medical Officer's sanitation report for December 1884 says: 'Drainage does not give any trouble or cause any special anxiety, as of course the river is utilized for this purpose': recorded in LMA/SBL/0365-198, 11 March 1884. This also raises questions as to drainage during the two periods when the Thames was frozen around the ship.

¹² 'The Proceedings Of The London School Board At Its Last Meeting Are A Fine Study For The Ratepayers Of The Metropolitan District,' *The Morning Post*, 19 March 1879, p. 4.

¹³ 'The School Board Scandal', *John Bull*, 9 February 1884, p. 91.

persistently upon the training-ship *Shaftesbury* as if it had been pitched into the Thames, and were lying fathoms deep in the Thames mud.’¹⁴

In fact, the equating of working class home environments with filth was more often to be found in interventionist education discourse published in support of SBL than the colourful conservative broadsides that followed in its wake. In SBL terms, it was the domain of the Progressive, rather than the Moderate Party. Indeed, as Stallybrass and White note, it was in ‘the reforming text as much as in the novel that the nineteenth-century city was produced as the locus of fear, disgust and fascination’.¹⁵ Whilst the conservative press rehearsed old epithets of dirt and filth in their attacks on perceived financial corruption of interventionist administrative bodies, it was progressive discourse that was often based around images of rescuing pupils from the moral and physical dirt of their home-life. The answer to the dirty and corrupting lives of the poor was the imposition of a different kind of space to accommodate children during the day. The SBL school, with its ‘Queen Anne’ façade, was a cultural object designed to interrupt and disrupt the cultural ecology it was placed in:

There are districts in London, once the despair of social reformers and religious workers, where the planting of a Board school seems almost to have regenerated the neighbourhood, diminishing lawlessness, improving the appearance and manners of the children, changing the attitude of parents towards education from one of hostility to one of friendliness, and bringing decency and order into some of the most degraded homes.¹⁶

The organic metaphors for the school here – ‘planted’, ‘regeneration’ – are in deliberate contrast to those of beastliness and mud that often described the pupils’ home life. For Philpot, and for the SBL, the ‘moral leadership that is the teacher’s highest function’ must involve itself in everything from their pupils’ ‘food and clothes, their homes and their parents, their play and their holidays’.¹⁷ Morality was inextricably linked with materiality. The school was of a different

¹⁴ The School Board Scandal’, *John Bull*, 9 February 1884, p. 91

¹⁵ Peter Stallybrass and Allon White, ‘The City: the Sewer, the Gaze and the Contaminating Touch’, in *Politics and Poetics of Transgression* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), p125; quoted in Robert E Lougy, (2002). ‘Filth, Liminality, and Abjection in Charles Dickens’ *Bleak House*’ *ELH*, 69, p. 474.

¹⁶ Philpott, p. 309.

¹⁷ Philpott, p. 291.

order than the streets its pupils came from. The Board school was here used as a metonym for a variety of physical, aesthetic and normative interventions, but there can be no doubt that the school house itself was seen as the transformative space *par excellence*.

These notions of school as a sanitized and sanitizing space in contemporary discourse are vitally important to understanding the *Shaftesbury* as the ship's 'hard' border from the shore, starker even than those of the Queen Anne facade, was similarly narrated as a site of physical and moral transformation. As the *Daily Press*' tour of the ship in 1879 reports:

Here and there may be seen on one only recently 'caught' the pallid face, sharp chin, and restless glance, which tell of hunger half-satisfied and vigilance perpetually exercised; but among the senior boys these marks of hard life have almost entirely disappeared. With the necessity of hunting for a dinner has disappeared the gaunt look of the beast of prey, the wild glitter of the eye has given place to a steady honest look, and all the old unrestfulness of limb has been drilled into regulated energy. It may seem an exaggeration to say that many of the boys are unrecognisable, but the fact remains nevertheless.¹⁸

Through diet, drill, and the regulation of hours the working class animal is ritually 'humanised'. Indeed the *Shaftesbury* is often referred to as 'humanising', by both praising liberals and pejorative conservatives alike, and both cite the architecture and aesthetics of the ship in their defence. We may recall the press descriptions of the School Deck, Sleeping Deck and Lavatory from chapter three, which were preoccupied with 'light, air, and cleanliness'. The fact that the *Shaftesbury* saw the SBL design a residential institution meant that the social pedagogy highlighted by Philpott was not restricted to the School Room. The *Shaftesbury* was able to bring the School Board ethos to the more private domestic areas of the inmates' lives, such as the 'large...lofty and airy, well lighted and warmed' Lavatory and the similarly lauded Sleeping Deck. The *Shaftesbury* applied principles of lighting, space and architectural 'flow' to the idea of bathing and sleeping that reflected the principles of the Queen Anne school. The extension into these areas meant that the SBL was creating space that not only offered a beneficial influence over pupils' home environments, but

¹⁸ *Daily News*, 25 March, 1879.

was able to offer alternative SBL versions of private domestic practices and spaces. To conservative commentators the attention paid to space and aesthetics on the School Deck, Sleeping Deck and in the Lavatory, were a waste of money as the sole function of the ship ought to have been judged in its ability to stamp street children with the professional habitus of the mercantile marine. Progressive interests effectively controlled the *Shaftesbury's* management committee for the first decade from its inception, however, and turned the ship into a kind of factory-scale model of a home run in accordance with School Board design.

The *Shaftesbury's* design peculiarities, such as the Lavatory, appeared in supportive accounts as practices upon the relationship between inmates and their family environments. The eradication of literal dirt appears as a metaphor of the breaking of links with the corrupting influence of home. The British Medical Journal of Nov 14 1903¹⁹ offers one of the more detailed accounts of life aboard the *Shaftesbury*, providing statistics in support of the ship's successes in improving the measurable health of the inmates. It is notable, however for its subtle conflation of moral environmentalism and physical dirt. Upon arrival, we are told, the new inmate

is immediately handed over to the petty officer, who looks over his papers, which contain particulars as to the boy's parentage, the neighbourhood he has come from, and the character of his offence. The officer then blows his whistle, and, as if by magic, a couple of the bigger boys appear. It is not necessary to tell them what is required of them. The new boy who is standing cowering, a filthy object in rags and tatters, is hurried away to reappear in half an hour spotless in new raiment. This is what has happened: he finds himself in the bathroom of the ship. Here there are small tubs and a large plunge bath. Before he can count three he is stripped and standing in one of the small tubs, being scrubbed by his two friends from head to foot with hard scrubbing brushes and soap. When they consider that he will do, they in their turn strip, and seizing what really may be called their victim, he is accompanied into the plunge

¹⁹ 'The "*Shaftesbury*" Training Ship,' *The British Medical Journal*, 2:2237 (14 Nov 1903), p. 1301-1302.

bath...Woe to him if he shows the least resistance, for then he is ducked and doused and dipped until he become passive.²⁰

The practice appears to date from Spring 1888, when the Medical Officer of the Port Authority of London, advised the *Shaftesbury* on measures to prevent the recurrence of a scarlet fever outbreak. “Every boy on being sent down from London,’ he suggested, ‘should be at once bathed, and dressed in a fresh suit of clothes, the old ones being destroyed or returned.’²¹ It is not difficult, however, to read in this passage the signposts of a ritual of transition or rebirth, severing the inmate’s ties to his previous environment (literally the family and neighbourhood, figuratively the dirt): this is certainly the way the authors of the BMJ article interpreted it. With his new clothes and cropped hair, we are told that the inmates’ ‘own mother would not recognize him” and this, we are left in no doubt, was the point.²² The article that began with this ‘purification’ account ended with the argument, presented at length, that the inmates should not be allowed any contact with their families, lamenting that “lads cannot be prevented from receiving letters from their parents, and in these they often unsettle them, and advise them unwisely”²³ and “[s]urely it is the parents who should go to prison as unworthy to have the custody of their children”. The first real functioning industrial school in Aberdeen, it is interesting to recall, was a place for partial or full orphans.²⁴ For the authors of the BMJ article, at least, scouring the inmates of their parental and friendship ties *ought* to have been amongst the *Shaftesbury*’s duties: the distance between ship and shore a redemptive exile.

²⁰ ‘The “*Shaftesbury*” Training Ship,’ *The British Medical Journal*, 2:2237 (14 Nov 1903), p. 1302.

²¹ *Port London Sanitary Committee Report, With The Half-Yearly Report of the Medical Officer of Health for The Port of London, To 30th June 1888*. (London: n/k: 1888), p. 14.

²² ‘The “*Shaftesbury*” Training Ship,’ *The British Medical Journal*, 2:2237 (14 Nov 1903), p. 1302.

²³ ‘The “*Shaftesbury*” Training Ship,’ *The British Medical Journal*, 2:2237 (14 Nov 1903), p. 1302.

²⁴ ‘Out of 69 boys attending it in 1844, 45 had lost their mother, 4 were full orphans, and in the remaining 25 cases, where the parents were alive, the father had in some instances deserted his family, and in others he was disabled from work’: Watson, ‘Reformatory and Industrial Schools’, p. 258.

6.1.1 *Domestic and Sanitary Border Practices*

As we have seen, the *Shaftesbury* was discursively constructed as an isolation space, with design features and practices to offer an alternative, institutional but sanitary, domestic environment. Questions remain, however, as to whether such rationales – along with the associated connotations of moral and physical dirt – which occur in the *Shaftesbury*'s public narrative were represented in its practices. In this sub-section I will assess evidence from the border practices of the ship, explicating any rationales related to these themes.

Before examining the *Shaftesbury*'s interventions between inmates' and their families, it is worth noting that the ship's powers in this regard were limited to inmates already resident on board. Significantly, as the 1903 BMJ article bemoaned, the *Shaftesbury* had little control over inmates once they had reached the end of their sentence, or had reached sixteen years old. The *Shaftesbury* did seem to have some influence over type of boys it received, although this appears to have been limited to refusal to take certain inmates. As the Home Secretary lamented, it was generally understood that the *Shaftesbury* took fewer 'difficult' boys than other industrial schools or industrial training ships.²⁵ The DCRIC also made this allegation, which Scriven did little to deny, and it may be that the *Shaftesbury*'s reputation for not admitting exceptionally violent or challenging boys may have grown from its reputation amongst magistrates. The *Shaftesbury*, however, did control inmates' access to their family members and home environments, and took great care in assessing the lodgings of families seeking to have their sons 'licensed out' back to them, under promise of employment. The SMC Minutes are filled with requests by parents to take boys home early on license, to make complaints after their treatment or health, etc. The *Shaftesbury* remained in control of these relationships, able to draw upon legal frameworks and state apparatus in excising its judgement of the families.

²⁵ Letter sent from Sir Matthew Ridley, Home Secretary to the SMC, 25 November 1898. Recorded in LMA/SBL/0371-329, 1 February 1899: '...as it would appear that the Board's policy is not to have on the 'Shaftesbury' the children of really bad parents, whose character is such as to render it imperative that their wishes should be overruled.'

The policing of the border for inmates wishing to return home early on license could be severe and placed considerable emphasis on the dangers of domestic environment of the home. From February 1884, Scriven was asked to obtain, from the industrial schools officer directly, reports to the 'character of the home and as to the proposed employment' in all cases where parents or friends requested to take back boys on license. The first of these cases – involving five boys – is presented in singular detail in the Minutes, offering a unique window into the focus and language of inspections.²⁶ The industrial school officer is used only in four of the cases, with an SBL clerk's private 'enquiries' having been used to discount one candidate as 'the father drank [and] that he was living immorally with a most repulsive woman'.²⁷ In all cases, a leading concern was the stability of employment of the parent(s) and the employment prospects for the inmate. Brief physical descriptions of the homes, nevertheless, appear integral to the reports and are used to support cases. Evans' father, who wished to apprentice him into his thriving lantern making business, has a 'comfortable home'.²⁸ Both of Howard's parents work (Gardener, charwoman), the home is 'decent' and the boy would be guaranteed work as a carriage cleaner for the railways.²⁹ Elvin, whose father had worked as a machine minder for 'over eight years' and could easily find the boy work in the printing factory, kept his '[h]ome respectable and decently furnished'.³⁰ The only candidate of the four to be not approved was Connor, whose prospective employer required to see the boy before hiring, but also had question marks raised about the morality of his boarding arrangements: the 'home was decent, but the eldest daughter, a servant aged 22, out of place was sleeping in the room where the boy was to sleep when he returned home'.³¹

²⁶ LMA/SBL/0365-173, 12 February 1884.

²⁷ Request for license of William Holman. The clerk suggested that, as the father professed an objection to the boy going to the Navy and wished him to be a clerk instead, the inmate be emigrated to Canada. The SMC proposed to find the inmate a position in London.

²⁸ LMA/SBL/0365-174, 12 February 1884, Henry Evans.

²⁹ LMA/SBL/0365-174, 12 February 1884, JW Howard.

³⁰ LMA/SBL/0365-174, 12 February 1884, William Elvin.

³¹ LMA/SBL/0365-174, 12 February 1884, James Connor.

As can be seen in the above accounts, the notion of ‘character of the home’ was deemed important for consideration by inspectors. The evidence attests to the great weight placed upon subjective assessment of the aesthetic and spatial suitability of homes to support the continued moral development of the inmates. This involved considering the living arrangements as indicators of future morality. A case from March 1893 illustrates, the foregrounding of notions of living space in the SMC’s decision making process:

J. Wooldridge – Letter from the father stating that as the boy’s time would expire in June, and as he would be glad of his assistance, and could get him work, he should be glad to have him at home.

Report from Industrial Schools Officer – Stating that the home consisted of only two small rooms, occupied by the family of seven; that the father was a coal porter; and that there was no situation open for the boy

Declined³²

The intrusiveness of the Industrial School Acts and post 1876 Education Acts have tended to be discussed in terms of their literal interventions. Historically this has included the foregrounding of magistrates refusing to award sentences for truancy, or accounts of working-class parents violently defending their children from industrial schools officer. Employing notions of ‘governmentality’ we might also foreground the way in which the working-class domestic space itself became posed as a kind of problem. ‘Governing’ the working-class family meant more than simply the power to remove its children, and involved posing the working class domestic space as a question in itself. What did the rooms, furnishings, general tidiness, etc, of a particular home ‘tell’ the inspector? The notorious ‘Form B’ meetings with truant pupils’ families, which led many boys onto the ship, were often conducted with the assistance of Octavia Hill’s Charity Organisation Society (COS), whose members were thought to offer interpretative insight into working-class circumstances. The standard practice of the COS, with its house inspections to determine whether families were part of the deserving or undeserving poor, being perhaps the most insidious and blatant operationalization of moral ‘dirt’ metaphor in contemporaneous public life.

³² LMA/SBL/0369-152, 7 March 1893.

Failure of working-class families to show 'correct' domestic practices could help propel children into the industrial school system.

Notions of the ship as a kind of alternative family for inmates are interwoven through its culture: making the border between ship and home a division between sanctioned paternalism and disputed versions of the family. Once on board, the inspections, assessments and interpretations of the inmates' home environments continued both by the *Shaftesbury*, the COS and other agencies. In November 1882, for example, the COS sent a letter to an SBL visitor for Marylebone, 'stating that the 'mother of Patrick Lawley wanted her son home, so that she might get him a place to assist her, as her husband was a drunkard'.³³ Taken second hand, it is uncertain whether the COS was suggesting the return of the inmate, but unlikely. At the subsequent SMC meeting a reply was read

from the Captain-Superintendent stating that he thinks it would be a pity for the boy to be allowed to go back to such a disreputable home, especially as the boy has not seen or heard anything of his parent for seven years; and that the boy is anxious to go into the Navy, but the Captain-Superintendent cannot now send the boy on his own account but can simply advise him what is best. It was left to Colonel Prendergast to communicate with the Charity Organisation Society with reference to the case.³⁴

The case is important in highlighting how multi-agency the domestic 'problem' of inmates' homes was, but also how Scriven clearly saw himself as a replacement parent to inmates. As we have discussed, the *Shaftesbury* was operated on the administrative and aesthetic rationale that it offered a more sanitary, middle-class version of the domestic space than inmates' homes. The 'model' ship was also often viewed as a moral family, but also a more morally paternal one. Miller references a

pervasive mid-nineteenth century discourse on criminality that framed juvenile delinquency as an outcome of parental absence (due to being orphaned, abandoned or neglected) and a consequent lack of exposure to the moralizing influences of the domestic sphere.

³³ Letter dated 7 November recorded in LMA/SBL/0365-26, 21 November 1882.

³⁴ LMA/SBL/0365-26, 21 November 1882.

Philpott's defence of the *Shaftesbury* during its final years rested upon the ship functioning as a surrogate moral family for the inmates. The chapter in *London at School* dedicated to the *Shaftesbury* is at pains to point out the difference between truant schools – which receive an unsentimental description in an earlier chapter – and the nurturing, caring environment of the *Shaftesbury*. 'The boy on the *Shaftesbury*,' we are told, 'is at home, and Captain Scriven is his foster father.'³⁵ Inspections reports from the early years of the twentieth century also claim that Old Boys professed a paternal fondness for the Captain, and continued to write to him personally long after leaving the ship. The case of Lawley illustrates that paternal influence was used towards somewhat expedient ends by the Captain.

The border of the ship marked not only a zone of moral paternalism, but also the conscious exclusion of maternal influences. A large section of Scriven's testimony to the DCRIC is taken up by him attempting to defend his refusal to allow a matron to live aboard, which his questioners viewed as necessary to expose the inmates to feminine and maternal influences. Scriven took issue with the suggestion that maternal influence was necessarily a good thing:

[Q:] ...is it not essential and indispensable that the boys should be personally influenced?

[Scriven:] Certainly.

[Q:] At ordinary schools most children have a mother to influence them, and, at all events, they have more or less good companions, but in your school the boys have no mother present with them, have they?

[Scriven:] No, but they are in contact with their mothers by letter writing and by visits.

[Q:] Yes, once in three months?

[Scriven:] Then very often my opinion is that the mother is perhaps the cause of the boy being sent to the school; if she is a good mother certainly there could be no better influence.

³⁵ Philpott, p. 203.

[Q:] If you like, I will assume that the mother is bad; then, as a fact, I say that the boys have no mother on board ship?

[Scriven:] No, they have no mother.

[Q:] They have not even a matron?

[Scriven:] They have no matron.³⁶

The exchange continues for many lines, with the interviewer displaying something of the 'cult of motherhood' that was to become a major theme in public health advice from the early twentieth century.³⁷ Scriven criticises the interviewer again for the supposition that inmates 'have good mothers',³⁸ noting somewhat opaquely '[s]ome have mothers, some have no mothers, and some have step-parents; and I think that very often for the good of the boy it is better that he should be away from the step-parent'.³⁹ Instead of the step-parent (or step-mother as Scriven may be suggesting), Scriven attests that he can 'stir the heart of a boy and turn him into a good course':⁴⁰

As far as possible I am in individual contact with the boys in their play, and when they are about the decks I am moving amongst them and I talk to them. I look at their work and give them a kindly word here and there, as well as at morning and evening prayers and Sunday services. Then I have the opportunity of talking in a kind and friendly way with the boys, which I believe produces very beneficial influence upon them.⁴¹

The rationale of the ship functioning emotionally as a substitute family, interestingly, remained unchallenged throughout the exchanges. The contentious issue remained the gendering of pastoral care. It is clear from such accounts that Scriven viewed the inmates as an extension of his own private family, and he was insistent that the periphery presence of his own wife and daughter on ship was sufficient female association for the boys. Miller suggests that 'bio-psychological

³⁶ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 149, l. 5441-5445

³⁷ For example, the pamphlet series *Essays on Duty and Discipline: A Series of Papers on the Training of Children in Relation to Social and National Welfare* (London: Cassell, 1910-11). These included advice from leading cultural, political and religious figures on how to avoid 'sentimental' parenting and the role of the mother in parenting the empire.

³⁸ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 149, l. 5447

³⁹ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 149, l. 5448

⁴⁰ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 150, l. 5461

⁴¹ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 150, l. 5461

paradigms' underscored the perceived functionality of Irish industrial schools, 'that identified the bodies and minds of child criminals as having abnormally developed in the absence of nurturing parental interest.'⁴² There is little evidence of a concern for 'nurturing parental interest' in either the problematizing of inmate homes or in Scriven's conception of the *Shaftesbury*.

Martin's discussion of the role two of the *Shaftesbury*'s female SMC members within the broader culture of the SBL hints, however, at a hidden 'maternal' influence. Martin contends that the more successful female members of the Board, such as Elizabeth Surr, Alice Westlake and Rosamund Davenport-Hill were perceived as 'demonstrating suitably 'motherly' qualities.'⁴³ Davenport-Hill was consistently represented as the 'mother of the boys' in the industrial schools she was involved with, such as the *Shaftesbury*.⁴⁴ Indeed, Davenport-Hill's biographer and historiographer emphasized her 'involvement with the boys at Brentwood Industrial School, sending one boy for a trip to the seaside, paying for trips to the zoo and giving them parties afterwards at her home, rather than her administrative abilities' at the institution.⁴⁵ Martin suggests that, either through personal preference or in deference to societal mores, female members of the Board were more involved with 'motherly' or domestic concerns in industrial schools than the men. Discussing Westlake's 'housewifery skills', for example,

appear to have been especially prized by male colleagues, since it was she who had 'shopped around' to furnish the ship, superintended the cutting out and arranging of needlework materials and persuaded friends to help in supplying the embroidery.⁴⁶

Davenport-Hill visited the ship frequently and is notable for her intervention on matters of health, which may be viewed as articulating 'maternal' concerns within contemporary social mores. A woman with considerable connections within London society and societies, she often appears as the prime facilitator

⁴² Miller, p. 108

⁴³ Martin, 'Hard Headed', p. 201

⁴⁴ For example, Ethel Metcalfe, *A Memoir of Rosamond Davenport-Hill* (London: Longmans Green, 1904).

⁴⁵ Martin, 'Hard Headed', p. 201

⁴⁶ Martin, 'Hard Headed', p. 198.

between the ship and external expertise or assistance.⁴⁷ In June 1889, for example, Davenport-Hill personally persuading Donald Gunn, the house surgeon at Moorfield Eye Hospital, to visit the ship and issue a report on treatment of ophthalmia cases. She also sent nurses to the ship during outbreaks, and was instrumental in getting the medical officer's quarantine suggestions through the SMC. Following the major outbreak of Ringworm in the early 1890s, it was Davenport-Hill who (seconded by Ms Eve) motioned

to inform the Captain Superintendent that the Committee regretted that he did not in the earlier stages of the outbreak use greater precautions, with the view to preventing the spread of the disease.

Such examples somewhat extend Martin's suggestion of conforming to role, as they display the deployment of considerably classed cultural and symbolic capital. We may recall, from chapter one, that Martin also argues that, standing for SBL elections, 'female candidates chose to stress the moral aspects of the service they were offering the women and children of another social class.'⁴⁸ If we are to plot a 'maternal' counterpoint to Scriven's paternalism, it must acknowledge the privileges of class and managerial position, as well as the constraints imposed by contemporary gender norms. The inmates had no mother or matron on ship, but they were offered surrogate female management that drew a range of classed capitals into the management of their health and wellbeing. Davenport-Hill not only frequently supported medical officers in their demands for better infirmary and quarantine provision, but also suggested the need for paintings to brighten the new infirmary. If we accept Martin's argument, the *Shaftesbury* thus also offered a normative border between visions of the maternal.

⁴⁷ LMA/SBL/0367-163, 28 May 1889: Davenport-Hill is the contact between Moorfield's Hospital and the SMC, and also 'sends' nurses to the ship at times of general outbreaks.

⁴⁸ Martin, 'Entering', p. 230.

Section Two

6.2.0 Border Performances: Resilient Identity And The External Gaze

It is perhaps natural that notions of moral and social isolation were prevalent in contemporary public conceptions of the *Shaftesbury*. The hulk, as a species of cultural space, was often viewed as a container, or space apart. Up until the middle of the nineteenth century prison hulks were a common sight on the Thames and in coastal waters, including the infamous *Euryalus* that housed child prisoners in poor conditions.⁴⁹ Throughout the *Shaftesbury*'s period, hospital isolation ships were used on the river to help contain infectious cases at a distance from the shore. During the small-pox out-break of 1881, for example, two ships sat in the Thames keeping sufferers isolated. Indeed, as will be discussed in the chapter to follow, *Shaftesbury* inmates were sent to an isolation ship under the Port of London Authority, the *Rhin* at Gravesend, in November 1881 with Scarlet Fever. As Donaldson hints in his study of the *TS Mars*, the industrial training ship was also conceived of as a contained isolation for Dundee's social problems. For the founders, the *Mars*' hulk was designed to literally contain the problem of juvenile delinquency out of reach, but not out of sight, of the town.⁵⁰ The *Shaftesbury*'s catchment area was large, but equally specific: it served the metropolitan city of London.⁵¹ As the BMJ article shows, the 'hard' border of the ship (between ship and shore) was often suggested as having the potential to isolate the inmate totally from their dirty and morally corrupting home environment. Although the *Shaftesbury* was held, by many of its supporters, to be a kind of moral isolation hospital with a healthy nautical theme,

⁴⁹ William Branch Johnson, *The English prison Hulks* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1970).

⁵⁰ The title of Donaldson's study, 'We'll send yer tae tha Mars', echoing threats shouted at misbehaving boys in the town, shows how important it was that containment was observed. It functioned as a very visible, specific and localized deterrent.

⁵¹ LMA/SBL/0369-143, 13 November 1883: Captain gets letter from Upton House industrial School asking if they can place a boy on the ship, they are told that the *Shaftesbury* only receives 'metropolis boys'.

however, this narrative should not be allowed to steer historical assessment of the ship. Evidence from the actual 'border practice' of the *Shaftesbury* – its methods of policing contact between the inmates and their home environment – are much more complex and multi-modal than the vision of the ship as a transformative exile or isolation presented in its associated public discourse. Whilst the dichotomy between the inspected squalor of inmates' homes lives, and the middle-class domesticity of the ship was part of the operating rationale of the ship, the *Shaftesbury* never sought to totally isolate the inmate from the streets he came from. The *Shaftesbury* was not a space that exiled or severed the inmate from their domestic circumstances, but one that sought a kind of constant negotiation with them: it wanted to check on parental situations, encourage good practices, show off its own industrial-scale domestic practices and spaces, and provide the inmate with enough resilient pride in his new identity to survive re-immersion in his home environment.

As discussed in Chapter Four, older boys who had attained a certain number of good conduct badges were encouraged to visit home regularly. Perhaps more surprisingly, hundreds of inmates' family and friends were also allowed on board the ship during quarterly 'Visiting Days'. Over the twenty-year period of my study, there were at least twenty-eight thousand visitations to the ship via this route. The days were held at regular three-month intervals, on Wednesdays when the tide allowed the embarkation. Numbers were not limited, and figures in excess of four-hundred at a time are common. When, in 1888, Christmas leave of absence was cancelled due to health issues aboard, 'a visiting day was given on December 26th, when 420 adults and 50 children went down to the ship.'⁵² There were also no quotas or limits set on the rations of adults to children, family to friends that could attend.⁵³ On Easter Monday visiting day 1895, for example, two-hundred and ninety six adults and one-hundred and forty six children' went

⁵² Captain Report recorded in LMA/SBL/0367-80, 29 January 1889.

⁵³ LMA/SBL/0365-75, 3 April 1883: "a visiting day was given on the 14 February, but that, owing to a gale, the Visitors were unable to be embarked from the "Exmouth" Causeway; and stating that this was another reason for having a causeway erected, under the lee of the ship, with a little delay as possible."

aboard.⁵⁴ Despite the suggestion that the inmates had been sent to the *Shaftesbury* to avoid the very kith and kin that were welcomed aboard, the occasions are not viewed as sources of danger to culture of the ship.⁵⁵ The Captain's reports to the SMC invariably noted that 'that everything passed off in an orderly manner'.⁵⁶ There is some evidence that things did not always run smoothly. The Committee changed the wording of the rules in April 1893, for example, to only allow visits 'unless the boys, by misconducting themselves, or the parents or relatives or friends, as the case may be, by interferences with the discipline of the ship, forfeit the privilege'.⁵⁷ Yet the Captain remained sanguine about the occasions, arguing that inmates saw visiting day as a chance to show off their new identity with pride, rather than fall back to old ways. The spectacle of inmates' appearance appears key in this. The ship, Scriven agreed with the DCRIC Chairman, was 'an object of interest as well as the children', adding that 'sometimes the boys come and ask if they can have the band up and play for their parents'.⁵⁸ The *Shaftesbury's* spectacle – with its subtle transformation of parent to audience and child to performer – was thought to create a reflective distance between families and their boys, inmates and their former selves. This appeared to be a view shared by those – such as the members of the DCRIC interviewing Scriven, who were critical of the *Shaftesbury*:

[Q:] Do you not think the fact that the parent from these visits may be a little kinder to the child, and also may be a little prouder of his child, will be a certain protection to the child after he leaves your ship, if he goes home?

[Scriven:] Yes, I should think so.

[Q:] Protection I mean against the father attempting to exploit his labour?

⁵⁴ LMA/SBL/0370-92, 28 May 1895.

⁵⁵ Given that investigations into the home lives of families requesting the return of their sons under license were so detailed, and resulted so often in refusal, it is perhaps surprising that the only condition for visitation rights was that inmates had been on board for three months.

⁵⁶ Captain Report recorded in LMA/SBL/0367-80, 29 January 1889.

⁵⁷ LMA/SBL/0369-167/8, 25 April 1893.

⁵⁸ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 149, l. 5552.

[Scriven:] Yes, in many cases; I will not say in all cases.

[Q:]: No, but it has a tendency in the right direction?

[Scriven:] Yes, certainly.⁵⁹

There is little doubt that the *Shaftesbury*'s use of appearance and spectacle was considered part of its social mission. It was hoped on such occasions that inmates' own pride in their appearance to family would help to validate their new identity both to them and their family.

Earlier chapters of this thesis have highlighted the great importance that the *Shaftesbury* placed on appearances: of seeing and being seen. The ship was famous for its design aesthetic, thought by many conservatives to be too luxurious and showy for the purposes to which it was dedicated. Appearances also played a crucial role in the system of discipline and rewards on board, as discussed in chapter four. The practices connected with the inmates' uniforms were performative in a variety of coercive ways, but they were also part of a far more complex culture of performative appearance on the *Shaftesbury* that existed around its borders with society and borderlines of identity. Instead of functioning as a place exile or isolation, the *Shaftesbury* was an institution that was open in a variety of deliberate ways. Whilst the accounts of the *Clio* and *Wellesley* portray the industrial ships as chaotic and unwelcoming environments, the *Shaftesbury* was a popular visitor destination. The business of the SMC Minutes is punctuated by requests to visit the ship, and the reports of visits to it. These were not just by inmate's families, but also by a range of curious individuals and parties. They came on behalf of unions, societies and organisations from all three social classes, although aristocrats and politicians had their own VIP Pathway on to the ship in the form of formal invitations to Prize Day. For the first decade, at least, the *Shaftesbury* was a perfect 'show boat' for the SBL and its modernity attracted considerable international interest as well, with the United States Commissioner visiting the ship in 1880.⁶⁰ From

⁵⁹ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 150, l. 5566-5568.

⁶⁰ LMA/SBL/0364-6, 23 November 1880: 'Stating that, on 3rd November, Mr WP Letchworth, United States Commissioner, visited the Ship.'

1892, the introduction of a state-of-the-art dynamo system to create electricity aboard sparked a new wave of expert visitors. The *Shaftesbury* was even more popular with general interest parties. Clamouring to get aboard were working class clubs, such as the East London Working Men's Club who posed for Figure 12 on the ship in 1892; religious groups, like the Hackney Young Men's Christian Association⁶¹; and special interest groups such as the Educational Council of Plumsted⁶². The varying sizes of the parties allowed on board - the educationalists from Plumstead were asked to limit their numbers to fifty - show just how public the *Shaftesbury*'s 'public' spaces were expected to be. In general, the smaller numbers associated with generalist clubs suggest the kind of grotesque 'sight-seeing' one normally associates with middle class tours of prisons and the East End. At the other end of the spectrum, there were the large, more serious information-gathering parties. The London Reform Union, for example, requested that three hundred of its members, who were also spending time on the *Exmouth*, be allowed to board the ship.⁶³ Although many of these larger visits were planned for the 'Summer vacation' weeks when a proportion of boys would have been sailing on the ship's tender, this was not always so. In fact, the frequent appearance of curious parties on board was central to the culture of space on the *Shaftesbury*. So much so that when an outbreak of ringworm stopped Prize Day in July 1892, it didn't stop a party of fourteen visitors from boarding the ship. The policing of the border between ship and shore here recalls a fairground attraction gate: although numbers were often queried, refusals were rare. For the boys, as for the staff, duties were very often performed to an audience.

Somewhat ironically, given that the SMC would not fund 'frivolous' trips to the theatre for the inmates, Prize Days and special visits transformed the whole

⁶¹ LMA/SBL/0369-379, 24 April 1894.

⁶² LMA/SBL/0369-199, 20 June 1893.

⁶³ LMA/SBL/0369-394/409, 5 June 1894: the Reform Union appears also to have visited the Metropolitan Asylum Board ship *Exmouth*, raising the possibility that the two boats were treated as one destination by a number of groups.

public areas of the ship into theatres.⁶⁴ Beneath the customary miles of bunting, such occasions exemplify the complex public/private dynamics of the ship. In the formally convivial atmosphere of the dignitary's address on Prize Day, many VIP guests played to their inmate audience for laughs and cheers. In this topsy-turvy world, along with medals issued by charitable societies, the most coveted award was for 'Most Popular Boy'. It was the award most often cited in the national press coverage of the event, no doubt adding to the inmate's recognisability, as well as valorising the ship's culture as a kind of popularity contest. To audiences public and private, the boys' commitment to performing their role in the orderly spectacle of the ship was proof of their reformation, and the *Shaftesbury's* socio-cultural functionality. Responding to a question as to whether he found the boys 'vicious or criminal', Scriven told the DCRIC:

Yes, there is a sort of restlessness to be observed amongst them, and they are inclined, some of them, to be cruel towards each other in their play, and I am sorry to say that in many cases they are very untruthful.⁶⁵

The boys here are depicted as dramatically 'acting out': fabricating narratives, playing at cruelty (as opposed to real cruelty?), and with a physical need to be observed. The martialing of this 'restlessness to be observed' into Visiting Day or Prize Giving Day parades appears to have been a deliberate practice of the ship. The Captain regularly invited the SMC to attend particular 'entertainments' by the inmates, which were repeated to local audiences in Grays.⁶⁶ Separate to musical recitals and band performances, these were dramatic costumed productions including staff members as well. The *Havannah*, the Cardiff industrial ship that was used to house *Shaftesbury* inmates waiting to go to sea during the late 1890s, also held similar entertainments suggesting that they were a feature common to the more 'civilised' training ships. The *Welsh Evening Express* reported that the *Havannah's* annual entertainments during the *Shaftesbury* boys' stay included, alongside more conventional singing and physical displays, a "Christy Minstrel" entertainment in the schoolroom, which

⁶⁴ Inmates were treated to trips to see local theatre productions in Grays, but the trips were enabled by donations from local charity rather than the SMC.

⁶⁵ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p146, l. 5352.

⁶⁶ LMA/SBL/0367-77, 15 January 1889.

had been decorated by them and fitted up with a stage and everything complete.’⁶⁷ ‘Christy Minstrel’ shows, popular vaudeville entertainments, would have involved the boys adopting ‘blackface’ whilst performing plantation-slave musical and comedy routines. Despite the deliberate representational subversion of gender, race and rank performed on such occasions, there was nothing Saturnalian or Carnavalesque about the entertainments. The change in appearance for *Shaftesbury* inmates remained both highly choreographed (from the expectations of one role to another) and public. Although the apparent commonality of such literal performances on industrial training ships offer an alternative frame for viewing the inherently theatrical aspects of ship life, such as sail and cutlass drill, as more reflexively performed.

6.2.1 *Material Borders and Identities*

Even if we allow ourselves to step outside the metaphors that have guided this chapter – of moral dirt, rituals, coded interpretations of dwellings, symbolic borders between inmates’ worlds – there remains a tangible link between the *Shaftesbury*’s social mission and the material of its wards’ clothing. The story of most *Shaftesbury* inmates could be told, literally, from rags to uniform (and then, often, to rags again) as Scriven’s DCRIC testimony suggests:

[Q:] The boys when they come to you, I presume, have been much neglected and uncared for?

[Scriven:] Yes, as a rule they have. Of course there is a difference; sometimes I see a boy fairly well dressed, but as a rule they are ragged and unkept.

When ‘Old Boys’ were reported in rags, the *Shaftesbury* – after assessing whether the boy was incorrigible or not via testimony from the ‘visitor’ – intervened by granting the boy a new uniform and the associated promise of getting a berth on a ship. With more and more Old Boys being found destitute or applying for re-admission to the ship, the SMC decided in late 1883 to appoint someone to locate

⁶⁷ ‘Havannah Industrial School’, *Welsh Evening Express*, 28 December 1899.

and visit Old Boys and report back to the ship. The position was awarded to a clerk in the Board's head office, Mr Drew, who undertook it in addition to second-class clerk duties.⁶⁸ Drew's reports contrasted greatly with the style and focus of the Industrial Schools inspectors, School Board inspectors, or other officially appointed visitors, perhaps because of his background. His style was starker, and seems to modern ears more attuned to the tragic circumstances he reported as economic rather than moral problems, rarely mentioning furnishings. Examples from his first report in April 1884 illustrate this:

7. Sims – The mother of this boy is dead, and the father has deserted the children. The boy lodges with his brother, and is still out of a situation.

...

11. Woodroffe – This lad is still out of a situation. His mother is dead, and his father is aged. The home is poor.

...

14 Manning – This lad is at present working at an oil mill. The mother states that it is very injurious to his health, but that he is obliged to do it, as the father is out of work, and they are very poor. The mother is a cripple.⁶⁹

Drew's vignettes, particularly the collection cited in an appendix of the DCRIC, replace the concern over the interiors and morality of the home with the state of the boy, often detailing the condition of their clothes. No longer able to negotiate release, the *Shaftesbury* was not interested in material condition of the home, but Old Boys' clothing and shoes were used as a definitive indicator of need in the most abject cases. This was a pragmatic focus as the granting of a sea-kit or 'outfit' was a very common request from Drew to the committee as the most destitute Old Boys were willing to return to the sea trade they had eschewed. Amongst the report on fifteen boys from which the above extract is taken, five are said to be in need of sea-kits as they are candidates for the ship's Shipping Agent. In the end, two received outfits from the SMC, two were refused (including Manning), and one was charitably provided to Woodroffe by his local Churchwardens in Tufnell Park. The financial significance of outfits was not

⁶⁸ LMA/SBL/0369-132, 16 October 1883.

⁶⁹ LMA/SBL/0365-236, 6 May 1884.

restricted to sea-kits. On Mr Drew's recommendation in December 1884, for example, Old Boy Richard Burgess, employed on shore, was supplied with an overcoat.⁷⁰

Continuing on from my discussion of the inmates' clothes as symbolic and performative objects in chapter four, I will suggest that the metaphorical lintel of sanitation and transformation fell not between the ship and shore, but upon the very material of the ship's uniforms. Uniforms were not simply about the display of the 'private' series of awards or punishments between institution members, but also symbolised to external parties the general transformative properties of the *Shaftesbury*. Favourable progressive accounts of the ship often use the uniform as a symbol of the inmates' bodies bearing new moral discipline. This was not simply a literary device. The uniform remained performative in Scriven's view. Asked whether 'the appearance of the boys at their homes' during badge-holders' visitations exerted a 'good influence on the parents',⁷¹ Scriven replied:

I think so, judging from the letters which I sometimes receive. Parents speak in very proud terms of the appearance of their boys, coming home so nice and clean....many of the parents say that they will guarantee the boy coming back just as clean in his clothes and person as he is when he arrives home.⁷²

The appearance of the returning boy was clearly hoped to stimulate parents' own re-evaluation of their dirt: they were proud of the child's new cleanliness, expressed worries that he will arrive back dirtied in Scriven's account. The good-conduct badge was not simply a reward giving free movement, but part of a technology that attempted to insert specific notions of self-discipline into inmates' home environments. Cleanliness had become both a barrier and a device of public health pedagogy. The inmates, in effect, wore the border to the ship on their skin, and it was envisioned as an ameliorative force rather than a static, physical site. Uniforms were used to proselytize a set of practices thought absent from the working-class domestic environment. As Bourdieu has taught us, aesthetics and cultural choices are synonymous with socio-political values. The

⁷⁰ LMA/SBL/0365-283, 16 December 1884.

⁷¹ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 150, l. 5564

⁷² DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 150, l. 5564-5565

contrast between the inmates' clean and ordered appearance during visits home would not, it was hoped, sever him from his grimy family but rather encourage them towards more physically sanitary and morally 'clean' domestic habits. The symbolic practices of the ship, then, were never theoretically distinct from those of the home, but were imagined as spatially and culturally interactive. The inmate was scrubbed not to purify them *from* the home, but ultimately to clean the *home itself*.

A number of historians have discussed evolution of the skin as a 'symbolic surface'⁷³ during the nineteenth century. For Elias and Gilbert is in this period that the 'modern body emerges as a body concerned with closure of its openings and regulation of ingresses and egresses'.⁷⁴ As Heinecke notes, however, the skin also became a site where moral and literal dirt could be symbolically purged from the city:

Skin represented the organ of drainage for body *and* society. To keep the skin clean and purge it of waste materials such as sweat and dirt resonated in a Victorian Britain awash with improvements in city sanitation, novel female beauty practices, new views of racial and moral reform. Characterizing skin as a 'sanitary commissioner' of the body, popular health publications revealed just how much the contemporary understanding of skin defined and connected concepts of cleanliness and the visual ideals of the healthy body in Victorian Britain.⁷⁵

In both the discourse and practices of the *Shaftesbury* clothing and bodily sanitary practices appear to occupy a similar symbolic functionality, regulating both the inmate and the London slums themselves. Press accounts of the trials of boys sentenced to the *Shaftesbury* sometimes featured descriptions of boys existing in 'rags' or sacks instead of clothes. The parent's (or child's) moral paucity seemed reflected in the indeterminate nature of their garments. The cleansing and dressing of the new inmate not only represented a symbolic

⁷³ Mienieke te Hennepe, "'To Preserve the Skin in Health': Drainage, Bodily Control and the Visual Definition of Healthy Skin 1835-1900, *Medical History*, 58:3 (2014), pp. 397-421, p398.

⁷⁴ Pamela K Gilbert *Cholera and Nation: Doctoring the Social Body in Victorian England* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2008).

⁷⁵ Mienieke te Hennepe, p. 398

breach with this past, but also used the uniform to symbolise the barrier between the ship and the inmates' former life. Uniform, as Daniel Roche's finds in his account of clothing of the *ancient regime*, is often found 'at the heart of the encounter between appearances and social discipline'.⁷⁶ Uniforms came with their own set of associated practices – they needed to be kept clean and worn correctly – which 'exported' something of the ship's discipline and the inmates' new identity into the homes inmates visited on leave. Craik, unpacking 'The Cultural Politics of the Uniform', draws attention to the inherent dissonance of the uniform as both a disciplinary technology and an object that invoked pride and appreciation.⁷⁷ The *Shaftesbury's* practices show that 'pride and appreciation' could be used as a productive technology also.

The uniform and the sea-kits supplied to inmates were also symbolic of their transformation into economic utility: the 'correctness' of the clothes in terms of commercial standards and style judged a sartorial link between ship and industry. The uniforms were the very opposite of the deliberately garish and awkward clothes supplied to some farm industrial schools which, as Hurt notes, were designed with the intention of 'reminding inmates of their convict status and facilitating their recognition if they absconded'.⁷⁸ The farm-school uniform was made a productive technology of isolation from the outside world, and offered no connection with the commercial sector in which the schools hoped inmates would work. Initially the *Shaftesbury's* uniform was simply copied from the *Exmouth*, its charity-ship neighbour at Grays, but the make up of both it and the sea-kits given to those entering the merchant marine was under constant change and negotiation in accordance with the demands of the marine sector. From the mid-1880s, the SBL attempted to centralise the purchasing of as much of the *Shaftesbury's* tenders as was possible, with mixed results in terms of quality. There were continual battles between the SMC and the SBL over alleged poor quality of the boot repairs undertaken by reformatory schools under the

⁷⁶ Daniel Roche. *The Culture of Clothing: Dress and Fashion in the Ancient Regime*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 222.

⁷⁷ Jennifer Craik. The Cultural Politics of the Uniform, *Fashion Theory*, 7:2 (2003), p. 127-147.

⁷⁸ Hurt, *Outside the Mainstream*, p. 90.

Board Stores' insistence, for example. A more serious problem was that the uniforms and sea-kits suggested by the Board Store were out-of-kilter with the contemporary commercial norm. A response regarding the Board's samples of uniforms from October 1884, confers the tone of these conversations: 'These oil skins (the Board's samples) are not suitable for boys in merchant service, only captains and officers wear long coats; the sou-wester is also the wrong shape'.⁷⁹ In the end, with a Board Store representative present to respond to complaints, new issues were agreed in 'merchant service shape'. Sea-kits were also changed to meet the specific requirements of employers targeted by the Shipping Agents. The move towards placing boys on fishing smacks, for instance, led to a new, specialised kit. The abandonment of kits in such cases – often treated with as much severity in the SMC Minutes as the actual absconding from ships – can be read as the casting off of an identity agreed between the boys by the ship. The leaving of ships with sea-kit, however, was treated differently: when W French did so from the SS 'Cheerful' in October 1884, for example, the SMC instructed 'the Industrial Schools Officer to look after this boy'.⁸⁰ Similarly, as more boys began to be accepted into the Royal Navy in the late 1890s, the *Shaftesbury* opted for a rather optimistic rebrand. In October 1898, the Messrs D Stewart and Co., who held the contract to supply the *Shaftesbury* with uniform, announced that they were able to supply 'all the garments in naval pattern at the present contract prices with the exception of flannel shirts'. The SMC's request that the suppliers 'adhere more closely to the naval patterns of uniform' was a significant moment in the aesthetics of the ship. The change was not driven by practical concerns nor meant for the public at large. As far as practicality went, the boys were 'very well clad', 'rigged out in proper nautical dress, which form of attire allows of the freest exercise and unhampered development'.⁸¹ For the public, the *Exmouth* copied design was enough to pass as 'Jack Tar'.⁸² The small changes to

⁷⁹ LMA/SBL/0365-266. 24 October 1884.

⁸⁰ LMA/SBL/0365-266, 21 October 1884.

⁸¹ From Medical Officers Report in LMA/SBL/0365-198, 11 March 1884.

⁸² For example: 'The boys of the *Shaftesbury* training ship, in the white Summer uniform of the Jack Tar...': 'Board School Children's Drill', *The Standard*, 7 July 1884, p. 3

uniform and sea-kits meant that the inmates wore comments in a continual material dialogue between the *Shaftesbury* and prospective employers. Uniform was not just a border with homes but also with the world of work that they entered when they left the ship.

If the sartorial practices of the ship challenge the discursive construction of a 'hard border', they also nuance our notion of 'transformation' and identity on board. Uniforms were transformational, as well as pedagogical, objects. The uniforms identified their inmates' positionality within a variety of spatio-economic frameworks on and off the ship that ranged from the ownership of privileges to the needs of international trade bodies. As previously noted, inmates uniforms carried marks to denote the attainment of behavioural goals and seniority, but the most fundamental marks that the *Shaftesbury's* uniforms carried were three digit inmate identification numbers⁸³. These impersonal codes also acted as inmates' territorial markers through the ship, appearing on a boys 'watch bill, and his books and his clothing'.⁸⁴ Scriven argued that the general use of the identification number on ship stemmed from that fact that it was 'easier to mark clothing by a number than it is to mark a name'.⁸⁵ Thus the material necessities of the uniform itself flavoured the microsociology of inmates' relationships to their possessions. It was not *A. Smith* that the inmate saw etched into his cricket bat, or heard called for at Watch, but a three-digit code more compatible with his uniform. It was, conveniently, an association between identity and numbers continued in the army and navy to which it was hoped the inmates would progress. Much more than the uniform, this conversion of the name to numbers signified the division between home and institutional identity. The identification numbers and reward patches were linked directly to freedoms – the ability to name (and therefore own) goods, or the right to move freely on and off the ship – yet they were also about publicly labelling the inmate himself in a way other to his chosen or surname.

⁸³ Although such three digit codes carried enough 'surplus signification' for us to imagine divisions by such things as sequentially, lucky or superstitious numbers, etc.

⁸⁴ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 162, l. 6015.

⁸⁵ DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 162, l. 6015.

The uniform is thus both a prime technology and motif of *homo liberalis* on the *Shaftesbury*. By wearing it during ‘free’ visits to shore, or accepting privileges worn in its symbols, or ‘naming’ person items with the uniform’s numerical code, and preserving it in the manner expected on ship even when at home, the inmate was indulging in freedoms predicated on precise limitations. In Thurrock Museum, two bricks survive from the *Shaftesbury*’s last infirmary. Following the *Shaftesbury*’s demise, the infirmary was used by a variety of training ships, including the subsequent incarnation of the *Exmouth*. One of the bricks shows graffiti from two members of a training ship – likely the *Exmouth* – dated 1936. Etched into the brick, under the phrase ‘duty boys’, the boys have scratched their three-digit identification numbers rather than their names: codes that culturally marked them apart from local boys who sometimes played near the site. In his book on the *Mars*, Douglas notes that during the ship’s summer camps on shore, local boys were amazed to hear the inmates call to each other by their numbers even when playing football or games.⁸⁶ Juliet Ash notes of the similar use of identification numbers on prisoners’ uniforms in the nineteenth century that ‘[t]he prisoner’s identity was reduced to an anonymous number and became an embodiment of part of the building construction itself’.⁸⁷ Perhaps more important, however, is what the numbers exclude, replace, interrupt. Helen Rogers’ discussion of prison and transportation tattoos in the mid nineteenth century points to the skin beneath uniforms as the final site of resistance to externally labelled and narrativised lives.⁸⁸ Indelible, officially recorded, identities could be smuggled beneath apparent anonymity: ‘emphatically asserting genealogy’, recording pride and affections at odds with the prison regime.⁸⁹ It is perhaps no surprise that the ‘most common tattoo among English male tattooed convicts transported to New South Wales in 1831 was the

⁸⁶ Douglas, *We’ll send ye tae the Mars*.

⁸⁷ Juliet Ash, *Dress behind bars: Prison Clothing as Criminality*. (London: I B. Tauris & Co Ltd, 2010).

⁸⁸ Helen Rogers, ‘The Way to Jerusalem: Reading, Writing and Reform in an Early Victorian Gaol,’ *Past and Present*, 205 (2009), pp. 71-104.

⁸⁹ Rogers, p. 101.

prisoner's name or initials'.⁹⁰ It is, then, significant that in the *Shaftesbury* inmates, or 'Duty Boys' case, much identity and pride was bound up in the ship. The transported convict in Roger's article adorned his body to reflect pride in his occupation: 'in his tattoos he reclaimed his status as a skilled working man, engraving his right arm with the tools of his trade, 'hammer compasses trowel plumb rule level step level.'⁹¹ The example of the 'Duty Boys' perhaps illustrates a similar pride, as the numbers were also symbols of their training. The transformations occurring on the *Shaftesbury* were clearly not about animals being humanised, nor even from state to state (hungry to fed, restless to calm, ill-disciplined to disciplined): changes were encouraged and affected at more fundamental levels of identity. Whilst only boys promoted to Petty Officers were official allowed knives on the ship, there is evidence from Scriven's testimony to the DCRIC that many boys obtained them, and scratched graffiti into the ship's surfaces.⁹² In addition to the bricks in shaded corners of the infirmary, we may imagine such digits picked into the dark corners and difficult reaches of the *Shaftesbury*. Although we have limited access to their significance.

Conclusion

Felix Driver discusses how, in the mid-nineteenth century, environmentalism became *the* theory linking social reform to the emerging social sciences. The discourse is one of emotively described (or imagined) moral spaces, the social scientist / reformer seeking to record the 'moral geography'⁹³ of urban slums. Whilst, as we saw in the first section of the chapter, there is much evidence in the discourse surrounding the *Shaftesbury* to support Driver's argument, the 'moral geographies' and 'moral spatialities' that we find embedded in the ship's culture are multiple, dissonant, and multi-modal. We may take the metaphor of the ship

⁹⁰ Rogers, p. 98.

⁹¹ Rogers, p. 99.

⁹² DCRIC, II: Scriven's testimony, 5 December 1895, p. 149, l. 5482.

⁹³ Felix Driver, 'Moral Geographies: social science and the urban environment in mid-nineteenth century England', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, New Series, 13:3 (1988), p. 282.

as a 'container' for an example of this: its keeping inmates out of 'reach of moral contagion of adult crime and pauperism,' in Driver's words. In the long perspective, the significance of the *Shaftesbury*, and institutions like it, also lies not in its containment of inmates against the external influence of the streets they came from, but with whom they were contained. May and Sheldon have posited the industrial school as synonymous with an emergent legal and moral status of the child as an 'innocent', and a cultural shift towards segregating childhood spaces from those of the adult world. Isolation became not isolation *from*, but isolation with kind, according to an ever increasing set of physical, moral, or mental taxonomies. My research period marks the emergence of inter-institutional segregation that included schools for the deaf, feeble-minded and crippled, and led to the increasing psychological divisions discussed by Rose.

Similarly, the border between the *Shaftesbury* and the inmate's home, the institution and the family, could be maintained from the opposing side. In *Imagined Orphans: Poor Families, Child Welfare and Contested Citizenship in London*, Lydia Murdoch suggests that poor families effectively used 'waifs and strays' institutions as surrogate childcare during times when they could not look after their children. Whilst that clearly does not apply to the *Shaftesbury*, the regularity of cases of children sentenced for being declared 'uncontrollable' by parents poses some challenge to readings of the ship as a function of aggressive interventionism into working-class families. There is little data of 'crimes of admittance' available for the *Shaftesbury* from my period, but for the year to July 1902 we find:

'Begging, 12; wandering, 59; non-attendance at school, 15; beyond control, 39; associates of reputed thieves, 8; living in brothel, 1.'⁹⁴

The category of 'beyond control', as noted in chapter two, was synonymous with families who voluntarily put their child before a magistrate or had action brought against them for cruelty. In either case, the 'border' between the ship

⁹⁴ *Report of the Training Ship "Shaftesbury" for the Year Ended 25th July, 1902* The School Board for London (London: School Board for London Alexander and Shephard, 1902), p. 5.

and home appears to have been activated from the family's side. The case of George Beaven, due to leave the *Shaftesbury* in March 1885 demonstrates the complexities involved in the separation of inmate from family.⁹⁵ Beaven's sister and brother-in-law 'a young married couple – were not willing to have the boy with them' and his father had moved to America.⁹⁶ In the few such cases recorded in the SMC Minutes, it was barriers erected by family against the return of the inmate from the ship that had most lasting consequences. Beaven's subsequent release to the Working Boys Home as a virtual orphan was a tragedy authored by many, not exclusively those involved in his sentencing to the *Shaftesbury*, or the practices of the ship. Although the time and space that the ship placed between inmates and their kin may have placed distance between them, in Beaven's case the emotional distance of sister and the physical distance of his father.

In such cases, where the simple spatial logic of ship as barrier, container or negotiator between inmate and family break down – where there is no family or a family is out of reach – the function of uniform was transformed. Vivienne Richmond presents a vision of mid-to-late nineteenth-century England as a starkly coded sartorial system: 'Blacksmiths and carpenters were among the men who wore a leather apron, while those of the grocers were white linen or cotton, and butchers were blue.'⁹⁷ To boys like Beaven, the sea-kit offered a solitary place marker of community, status, and prospects in a disrupted world.

⁹⁵ LMA/SBL/0365-310, 23 March 1885.

⁹⁶ LMA/SBL/0365-310, 23 March 1885.

⁹⁷ Vivienne Richmond, *Clothing the Poor in Nineteenth Century England*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 31.

Chapter Seven: Isolation and Air

Introduction

In this chapter I move from the metaphorical construction of the *Shaftesbury's* discourses and practices of moral sanitation, to those of the ship's medical provision.

The *Shaftesbury's* lifetime coincided with one of the most significant medical paradigm shifts of the modern era: the general acceptance of microbial models for disease infection in place of a patchwork of ideas including miasma, contingent contagion and zygotic fermentation. 'Germ theory' explanations for the aetiology of disease gained official acceptance from the 1870s.¹ However, as section two will highlight, there remained considerable theoretical fluidity for a number of decades. The new conceptions of disease and contagion led to changes in the materials and practices of medicine, and came at a time when the state was seeking greater control over the extent and variety of medical treatment. In his history of disease theories during the period, Michael Worboys suggests that between 1860 and 1900:

[p]ublic health was repoliticised, away from the mainly liberal agenda of rights, responsibilities and the 'Condition of England', to the politics of expertise and the duties of the state to maintain the health of the nation or British race.²

A recent study by Ian Miller, based on the circulars issued by General Lentaigne, the inspector of Irish reformatories and industrial schools, discusses the late nineteenth-century Irish industrial school within this context. The institutions not only developed to provide services 'bordering upon pediatric healthcare',³ Miller argues, but quickly adapted their medical practices in accordance with the emergent discoveries of germ theory. Miller's article raises some significant

¹ It is actually fairer to talk of a composite germ theory.

² Michael Worboys, *Spreading Germs: Disease Theories and Medical Practice in Britain, 1865-1900*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), p. 238.

³ Miller, p. 108-9.

questions about the medicalization of British industrial school ships during the period. The Irish industrial school system is depicted as actively seeking out expert advice from sources as distant as medical journals, with schools portrayed as enthusiastic early adopters of new spatial and treatment practices. English industrial schools and industrial school ships, however, have more often been viewed as destructive to inmates' health. Even avoiding the outrages as St Paul's Industrial School, a combination of poor amenities and exposure to the elements cost lives and impaired health on the *Clio* Industrial School Ship. Furthermore, the *Wellesley* illustrates how medical theory and practice on industrial school ships deviated from the contemporary medical consensus, in that disciplinary practices were extremely detrimental to the health of inmates. Indeed, the Inspectorate, though appalled, were prevented from intervening in the torturous punishments on that ship as the Medical Officer and Captain defended the application of acid as a prevention for masturbation as an established (if highly heterodox) medical practice.

Nevertheless, the culture, administration and aesthetics of the *Shaftesbury* were completely unlike that of the *Clio* or *Wellesley*. As previous chapters have explored, the *Shaftesbury*'s culture and architecture suggests an institution committed more to emergent pedagogy, progressive social involvement and 'modern' innovations (electric lights, for example). The *Shaftesbury* therefore might be said to offer a better example of the kind of environment where Miller's model might be tested in the English context than many industrial schools or school ships. Perhaps more importantly, Miller's article invites probing questions about the general types and rationales of medical provision provided on the ship. Does Miller's model, from which many English industrial schools clearly fell short, fit the *Shaftesbury*? This chapter examines the rationale and practices of the *Shaftesbury*'s health provision in response to this question, and draw out themes absent in the existing literature that may serve as foci for future discussions of industrial training ships' (and schools') 'medicalisation' in the last decades of the nineteenth century. In section one, I examine the ship's spatial practices of treatment, isolation and quarantine. Although snapshots of provision taken in 1878 and 1898 indeed show the *Shaftesbury* moving from *ad hoc*

treatment and isolation zones towards publically acceptable standards, the intervening years challenge any assertion that the ship was able – or enabled – to meet the requirements of effective pediatric care. Section two explores the discourse of ventilation on the ship, drawing attention to the way ‘air’ was treated as a subject of health in both the ship’s own rationale, and the advice given to the ship by external medical experts. Divisions between miasmatic and post-germ aetiology were far more fluid than Miller finds in the Irish industrial school context, I will suggest.

Section One: Infirmary, Isolation, Quarantine

7.1.0 Medicalised Isolation

In common with other industrial school ships, the *Shaftesbury* permanently employed a non-resident Medical Officer. The role changed hands a number of times during my research period, but was always given to a General Practitioner living in the town of Grays. The Medical Officer would visit the ship once or twice a day, in addition they conducted ‘a medical inspection of every boy fortnightly’, oversaw boys treatment in the ship’s onshore infirmary (although the Medical Officer was never based there, nor kept the ship’s medical supplies in the infirmary).⁴ The Medical Officer was one of the most important and influential roles within the institution, submitting a report to the SMC every quarter (and more frequently during times of serious outbreaks or accidents). The role also acted as a gateway to bring in expert advice and encourage the development of ‘modern’ practice, with notable examples such as Dr Male corresponding with reputed hospital specialists on the best treatment practices, and engaging in documented arguments with the SMC over the need for improvements in provision. In almost all respects, the *Shaftesbury* was the antithesis of the opaque, pseudo-medical practices known to have been operated on the *Wellesley*. The ship invited visits from leading medical figures of its day to give advice on eradicating diseases, was inspected by the Board and Port of London’s

⁴ LMA/SBL/0365-199, 11 March 1884.

Medical Officers, and was even able to draw on the social capital of SMC members such as Davenport-Hill in gaining world-class hospital treatment for some inmates, and end-of-life care for those known to be terminal.

Medical isolation comprised of a variety of practices involving the separation of inmates from the physical surroundings of the ship: isolation of those with highly contagious illnesses, the separation of those suffering from a variety of conditions (rheumatism, severe colds, broken bones, incurable diseases, etc), and, latterly, a quarantine period for boys entering the ship. The spaces used to accommodate inmates included specialised hospitals, isolation ships, hired paddle-steamers, the ship's sailing tender, rooms in private houses onshore, and their own family homes, in addition to the three separate dedicated infirmaries that the *Shaftesbury* ran in Grays during my research period. In this section I will outline three kinds of provision for isolation – the ship's Infirmary, contagious isolation, and quarantine, respectively – and suggest how their spatial practices illustrate the struggles successive Medical Officers had bringing 'modern' medical practices to the ship.

7.1.1 The Infirmary

It was common practice for training ships to keep private, onshore infirmaries. As early as March 1878, the SMC clerk was directed to find land for a custom-built infirmary, with the hope, perhaps, of a design sympathetic to the modernity of the envisioned ship. In fact, although a plot of land in Grays called West Field was found and leased, the ship's infirmary did not occupy the site until 1898. West Field, instead was used for recreation (Sports Days and games), drill practice, and housed the ship's swimming pool. From June 1878 the focus moved to hurriedly establishing a 'temporary infirmary' in a suitable house in central Grays in the few weeks before the *Shaftesbury* arrived at its mooring.⁵ A five-roomed cottage at 10 Exmouth Road was rented for the purpose, initially on a twelve-month agreement with a formal assurance that no infectious diseases be

⁵ LMA/SBL/0363-63/64.

brought to, or treated at, the house. Despite complaints from ship and shore, the *Shaftesbury* continued to use the cottage as its only infirmary space for the next six years. By early February 1879, the ship's Medical Officer was already making increasingly desperate petitions to the SMC on the need to build the permanent infirmary on West Field that both he, and the SMC, clearly believed was planned. Dr Sellon noted that with several cases of ringworm and scabies turning the small, makeshift infirmary into an isolation ward, his ability to effectively treat the 'casualties continually occurring amongst the boys, as well as ordinary cases of sickness' was compromised.⁶ The impediments to finding or building more suitable infirmary accommodation may be related to accounting 'push-back' from the initial over-spend of the re-fit, as the Works Committee refused to continue the project.⁷ Somewhat ironically, the conditions at Exmouth Road were so poor as to galvanise John Lobb, the SBL firebrand famous for critiquing the economic frivolity of the *Shaftesbury*, to call for better accommodation to be built. Visiting the infirmary in the early 1880s, Lobb was so shocked by the modest size and apparently amateur nature of the provision that he wrote to Scriven to ask for its dimensions. Reprinting these in his 1885 critique of the SBL, Lobb provides us with an apparently accurate, if unsympathetic, overview of the space:

The infirmary for the three hundred boys on the ship consisted of a small five-room cottage, up a back street in Grays. A man and his wife and five children resided on the ground floor. The three 'pigeon-holes' upstairs, ten feet square, were used for the infirmary, in which eight sick boys were confined.⁸

The man and wife living on the lower floor were the Infirmary Attendant and Nurse, the former previously the *Shaftesbury's* Night-Watchman.⁹ Lobb further quotes the reply from Scriven in which the captain complained that '[s]ometimes

⁶ LMA/SBL/0363-151/2, 11 February 1879.

⁷ As Benson notes, the Works Committee announced that it would not proceed with the plans in the Autumn of 1879 yet a local chalk quarrie had agreed to provide reduced materials in December of that year: Benson, p. 39.

⁸ John Lobb, *Extravagance And Mismanagement Of The London School Board: Three Years Experience*. (London: 'Christian Age' offices), p. 5

⁹ They remained in place until their resignation in Oct 1886 LMA/SBL/0366-92, 19 October 1886.

we have as many as fifteen people crammed into the cottage, which consists of five rooms and a kitchen'.¹⁰

In early 1883, following a stream of complaints by the Medical Officer about the 'insufficient' infirmary, the Captain was 'directed to consider what better temporary infirmary accommodation might be found.'¹¹ On Scriven's suggestion, E.L. Robson visited 'Cedar Villas', two larger cottages in Grays, to assess their suitability. This was not the bespoke infirmary the Medical Officers had recommended, but the new infirmary was clearly being tested against SBL design rationales. In April 1883, Robson returned his report:

With regard to the two cottages proposed to be taken at Grays for infirmary purposes, I beg to report that the cottages are of recent erection, and are of the usual class of building produced by a builder without the supervision of an architect. I should not expect to find concrete under the whole area of the building, nor is there any damp-proof course in the walls, so far as I can ascertain. The walls are only nine inches thick.

Still, it would appear that these are the very best cottages now to be had in Grays, and they are of easy access from the Ship. The rental asked is £30 per annum each. The cottages are semi-detached, and stand by themselves apart from other buildings, and are, to that extent, suitable for hospital or infirmary purposes.

It would appear to be better to test the value of such an adjunct to the Ship this way than to buy or build, and in this view I do not think a better arrangement is open to the Committee.

(signed) E.R. Robson

This was a remarkably pragmatic Robson compared with the author of *School Architecture*, and suggests how used he was to adapting compromised School Board spaces alongside the more distinct purpose-built schools. The constraints appear financial as, in fact, the ship had already 'tested the value' – or rather need – of a medical space capable of providing medical isolation alongside more ordinary treatments. Robson appears to have been involved in the interior design of the new infirmary, and provided an itemised list of furniture to the

¹⁰ Lobb, p. 5.

¹¹ LMA/SBL/0365-55, 20 February 1883: the sudden interest in listening to the concerns may be related to the unwanted publicity Lobb was generating about the issue.

Works Committee undertaking the refurbishment, although his estimate – which amounted to £156 2s 8d¹² – was reduced to £80 3s 11d by the SMC under the ISC's watchful eye.¹³ Mindful of the cost of the renovation, the SMC recommended that the cottages be hired on a seven-year contract. To the frustrations of all concerned – particularly the *Shaftesbury's* Medical Officer – the second infirmary was not reported 'ready for occupation' until 6th May 1884.¹⁴ Much of the extensive delay in preparing Cedar Villas was caused by the volleys of solicitors' letters between the SMC and its landlord. Mr Theobald, the 'freeholder of the bulk of the land at Grays', sought assurances that no infectious disease would be 'introduced ('even en route') to the village' if he agreed to his property being re-modeled into a temporary infirmary.¹⁵ They were given, but somewhat unrealistically. Complaints about the need to fix and raise the part wall by three feet to ensure the 'comfort and privacy' of inmates at the second infirmary in 1887 suggests something of the degree to which it was surrounded by standard domestic dwellings and lives.¹⁶ No complete account of the work undertaken survives. A request for urgent colour washing and painting of the site in the aftermath of the Macdonald Report, provides a partial view of the layout – including an 'addition' – as of March 1890. This consists of, downstairs, 'closets, scullery, bathroom, two back rooms and one front parlour...[k]itchen; upstairs: '[t]wo front rooms and one back room to main building and back rooms to back addition'.¹⁷ Clearly, this was a larger enterprise than the first temporary infirmary, yet it remained an unsatisfactory compromise considering the need for isolation and quarantine provision.

¹² LMA/SBL/0365-104, 26 June 1883.

¹³ LMA/SBL/0365-113, 24 July 1883.

¹⁴ LMA/SBL/0365-222, 6 May 1884.

¹⁵ LMA/SBL/0365-179 12 Feb 1884: this appears to be more than mere community spirit, as the Health Acts may have made him in part liable for the introduction of disease if an outbreak were to occur.

¹⁶ LMA/SBL/0366-183, 17 May 1887: 'the party wall round the infirmary is broken in several places; that it would add very much to the comfort and privacy of the Infirmary if this wall could be raised three feet; and asking that these matters may be referred to the Works Committee.'

¹⁷ LMA/SBL/0367-299, 11 March 1890.

In fact, it wasn't until mid 1890 that the complaints from Medical Officers were heeded, and there developed enough political will within the SMC to press the SBL over the need for adequate infirmary accommodation. In February 1894, the SMC were discussing 'proposed instructions' to send to Robson about a new infirmary, to be built in West Field, which would 'take the place of the present infirmary and also to provide for infectious cases and the reception of newly-admitted boys'. At the meeting to discuss the proposal, Dr Male issued a damning account of the current state of the *Shaftesbury's* medical care, drawing attention to the facts that

The two cottages, which were at present used as an infirmary, were condemned some years ago by the Port Sanitary Authority, so far as regards the reception and treatment of infectious cases; that when isolated cases have occurred some temporary provision has had to be made, either by using the present infirmary and excluding all ordinary sick cases, or, by placing the boy out for lodging and nursing in the town which was a matter of difficulty, and has only been arranged in one case and cannot be relied on, and that, therefore, it was necessary to provide some accommodation, as, in the event of cases of erysipelas or chicken-pox occurring, or even suspicious cases, which should be at once isolated for observation, he had absolutely no suitable place in which to put the boys.¹⁸

This account occurred just under sixteen years after the opening of the *Shaftesbury*, and four years before infirmary accommodation matching these requirements was eventually opened for the ship. Accordingly, accounts of infectious complaints are interwoven with strange, temporary spatialities on the ship as isolation and quarantine were attempted within *ad hoc* or co-opted spaces. Further complicating the issue was the fact that isolation was not only a financial issue for the *Shaftesbury*, but became embroiled in legal and political struggles between external hospital providers seeking to extricate themselves from giving inmates isolation beds.

¹⁸ LMA/SBL/0369-31/32, 6 February 1894.

7.1.2 Isolation

We might view the spatiality of scarlet fever in terms of medical theory: isolation, quarantine, the contrasting theories of the role of air currents, physical contact, personal objects in its transmission. By the 1880s, when scarlet fever began to trouble the *Shaftesbury* regularly, however, infectious diseases such as scarlet fever became problems of administrative jurisdiction and territory. Early cases of infectious disease were sent to Homerton Fever Hospital but in 1880 the Metropolitan Asylums Board prohibited the ship from sending any more boys to their hospitals as the *Shaftesbury* was not 'situated within the metropolitan district'.¹⁹ Subsequently, the *Shaftesbury* was allowed to use the Port of London Sanitary Authority's Hospital Ship *Rhin*, moored at Gravesend, for infectious cases. As Krista Maglen²⁰ makes clear the *Rhin* was 'a physical manifestation of the new authority in the port and demonstrated the Port of London Sanitary Authority's (Hereafter PoLSA) appropriation of responsibility for the prevention of imported 'indigenous' disease'.²¹ By the time the *Shaftesbury* was using the *Rhin*, however, it was showing 'signs of serious deterioration and severe rotting' and had such poor ventilation that it was thought to 'retard recovery'.²² Accordingly, the *Rhin* was replaced in 1884 with the PoLSA's new land Hospital, also at Gravesend. In Spring 1888, after a number of recent referrals from the ship, PoLSA stated that they would be unable to take any more cases from the *Shaftesbury* as, although they had been accepting from 'time to time' cases from training ships within their 'jurisdiction', outbreaks put too much strain on their resources and they would in future focus solely on ships entering and leaving the Port.²³ The SMC approached the Rural Sanitary Authority for Grays, the Board of Guardians for the Orsett Union, asking if the *Shaftesbury*'s infectious cases could be sent to a hospital they were building but they were declined.²⁴ In all cases, hospital places seem to have been denied because of physical spatial issues: if a

¹⁹ LMA/SBL/0367-272, 11 February 1890.

²⁰ Krista Maglen, *The English System: Quarantine, Immigration and the Making of a Port Sanitary zone*. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), p. 24.

²¹ Maglen, p. 22.

²² Maglen, p. 24.

²³ LMA/SBL/0367-273, 11 February 1890.

²⁴ LMA/SBL/0367-273, 11 February 1890.

large outbreak of a disease such as scarlet fever were to hit the ship, hospital managers feared that they would not be able accommodate inmates and meet their other commitments. For the next two years the *Shaftesbury* battled to find a way of forcing either PoLSA or the MAB to take their infectious cases. Until mid 1892, barely a month past without correspondence being recorded between the MAB, PoLSA, the Local Government Board, the ISC and SMC on the subject of isolation provision. In 1890, when the SMC petitioned the City Corporation to allow the reception of the *Shaftesbury*'s infectious cases at its Gravesend hospital, it was offered its own six-bed block (for an upfront fee).²⁵ Despite the attention of the head of the ISC and of the School Board itself, the situation remained extraordinarily tentative considering the problem that would have arisen were a serious outbreak to occur.

In the life of the *Shaftesbury*, the period covered a local outbreak of measles, the international Russian Influenza Pandemic of 1889, and a mass outbreak of ringworm. There was therefore inventiveness in the *Shaftesbury*'s construction of isolation spaces during the period produced both by its limited resources and inability to guarantee external assistance. An outbreak of measles in the local town, for example, led to hurried reconfiguring of institutional space. Officers with homes on shore affected by the disease were required to board on the ship till the danger had passed.²⁶ In late February as the disease was noticed in the town, the SMC instructed the Captain that, were an outbreak to develop on ship, initial cases should be moved to the ship's training boat, the *Themis*, and later ones to the infirmary and 'another cottage hired for infirmary purposes' in the town.²⁷ Given the reservations of Mr Theobald regarding the housing of infectious cases in a specified infirmary, this option appears both desperate and legally objectionable. Fortunately, the disease affected only staff, but the Medical Officer was forced to improvise an isolation ward: 'the boys are isolated in the 2nd half of the infirmary, and no communication is allowed between this and the other part, the doors connecting the two houses being locked and pasted over

²⁵ 'The London School Board,' *The Morning Post*, 14 March 1890, p. 6.

²⁶ LMA/SBL/0367-124, 26 March 1889.

²⁷ LMA/SBL/0367-93, 26 February 1889.

with paper; that the boys are attended by a separate nurse, who had been engaged on purpose...'.²⁸ During a second outbreak of the Russian Influenza in April 1891, with the infirmary full with eleven cases, '28 other boys had been treated on board, a portion of the sleeping deck having been screened off for their accommodation'.²⁹ The danger of contagion that this posed was apparently understood, with Dr Male noting that it was likely that the influenza was caused by 'the entrance into the blood of specific germs, carried in the atmosphere'.³⁰ The solution of having healthy boys 'exercised a much as possible in the open air' and 'opening all ports and scuttles' was therefore concerned with protecting the inmates from the 'atmosphere' created by the areas containing sick boys on board.³¹ The screening of general space into isolation zones through papered over doors and curtained areas of deck places resonates more with the English prison hulk tradition that the *Shaftesbury* hoped to transcend, rather than the emergent medical practice of the late nineteenth century.

Ringworm, a perennial problem for the *Shaftesbury*, resulted in some of the most extreme and unusual divisions of inmates into space. Ringworm is a fungal infection that shows in red 'ring' patches on the skin and scalp. It is highly contagious, being passed through shared items such as towels or bedding, and can lead to secondary infections if it is scratched. In May 1892, the Captain and Medical Officer told the SMC that they had begun to use the ship to house infected cases because the infirmary was full.³² The Committee reacted by demanding that all infected cases be removed from the ship to a temporary tent that, as had happened previously during infectious outbreaks, would house the infirmary overflow in the Infirmary garden 'during the day'.³³ The notion of the infirmary here was as an incredibly simplistic 'third space' that required, to perform its duties, nothing more than protection from the elements. By late June, the Medical Officer was demanding that the SMC supply an isolation hulk

²⁸ LMA/SBL/0367-124, 26 March 1889.

²⁹ LMA/SBL/0368-165, 28 April 1891.

³⁰ LMA/SBL/0368-165, 28 April 1891.

³¹ LMA/SBL/0368-165, 28 April 1891.

³² LMA/SBL/0368-356, 31 May 1892.

³³ LMA/SBL/0368-356, 31 May 1892.

alongside the ship: 'there were 31 boys on board the *'Themis'*, 8 in the infirmary, and about 12 on board the ship, all suffering from ringworm.'³⁴ The infection, despite the many precautions taken, was spreading. The Chairman duly requested the use of a hulk from the Admiralty but was turned down and turned to a commercial enterprise, the Victoria Steamboat Association, to loan an iron paddle steamer called the *Fairy Queen*.³⁵ For a brief period, the *Shaftesbury*'s inmates were spread into four territories by the fungal infection. Over forty inmates remained on the *Fairy Queen* until the steamer was returned at the end of the year, although at the dawn of 1893 twenty-six inmates were still isolated on the *Themis*. In addition to the health risks of moving infected boys into the infirmary, the new 'colonies' of ringworm posed moral issues for the ship. Officers were transferred permanently to the *Fairy Queen*, but it was often criticised for having lax discipline. In December 1892, fifteen boys isolated on the *Fairy Queen* were implicated in stealing a large sum of money from an officer's cabin, a portion of which was passed to an errand boy to secretly purchase goods during his trips to town. Boys were often sent to a magistrate for prison and/or reformatory stays for smaller theft offences on the ship, such as pilfering from the stores, yet the Captain chose to deal with the culprits himself rather than subject the case to external record. The heaviest rebukes were directed towards the staff on board the ship, particularly the officer in charge named Kellow, who was said to have let authority breakdown on the *Fairy Queen*.³⁶ We may thus view these *ad hoc* attempts at isolation as short-lived 'alternative' versions of the *Shaftesbury* that challenged particular orders of the ship: its hierarchies and regimes of space. Some, such as the strangeness of having officers normally living on shore forced to lodge on ship, were no-doubt trivial. In the comparatively structured and hierarchical lives of the inmates, however, being

³⁴ LMA/SBL/0368-372, 21 June 1892.

³⁵ It is interesting to note that it appears the SMC at this point contacted the former chairman Scrutton to see if he, still a manager of a mercantile company, could lend vessels but his quote came back too expensive.

³⁶ LMA/SBL/0369-111, 7 February 1893: minutes for the same meeting show that the Victoria Steamboat Association placed a claim for '£14 10s 0d., for alleged damage to the vessel whilst moored off Grays.' Damage that Kellow was also questioned by the SMC over.

‘camped’ in an over-crowded tent in town, or being allowed to run amok on a laxer version of the *Shaftesbury*, may have been significant. The suggestion is that the poor isolation provision for infectious diseases threatened not only the physical health of the inmates, but also the culture of the ship. The passing of new health and sanitary legislation in the early 1890s eventually enabled the SMC to threaten the MAB into allowing serious cases, at an agreed fee, to enter their institutions on a case-by-case basis.

7.1.3 *Quarantine and Medicalised Borders*

Although isolation remained a logistical issue during large outbreaks, the notions and spatialities of quarantine saw the most dramatic evolution of any medical practice during my research period. Quarantine meant the monitoring of new inmates for a period before they boarded the ship to check for signs of illness. Initial quarantine isolation had been an issue for the *Shaftesbury* since it took its first inmates. Early in 1879 scabies and ringworm were noted in boys entering the ship, and subsequent accounts of the diseases being introduced by new boys are common in the Medical Officer’s reports from the 1880s.³⁷ Inmates were supposed to be quarantined and medically assessed in a workhouse for at least a week before entry, yet there are records of angry letters to workhouses from the Medical Officer protesting that boys were not being adequately checked for scabies and other conditions before being sent aboard.³⁸ In December 1882, the Captain brought the SMC’s attention the case of John Doyle who

had been refused admission to the ship, as he was covered with scabies spots, and stating that the rule for boys to be kept in the workhouse for a week previous to their being sent to the ship, has of late fallen into abeyance, and asking for instructions on the subject.³⁹

The SMC ‘approved’ the Captain’s actions, but informed him quarantine arrangements should be enacted only ‘as far as possible’, exposing attitudinal

³⁷ For example: LMA/SBL/0364-280, 16 May 1882: Boys admitted from St Swythan’s School suffering from scabies.

³⁸ LMA/SBL/0363-118, 22 October 1878.

³⁹ LMA/SBL/0365-35, 12 December 1882.

differences between the ship and SMC.⁴⁰ The importance of the Medical Officer's preliminary health checks was boosted the following year, when the Home Office issued a circular requesting that industrial school managers give 'directions that every child, before being admitted to the school, shall be carefully examined by the medical officer, and unless certified by him as fit for discipline and medical training, shall not be received.'⁴¹ The circular was important as it not only made initial medical inspection, and individualised medical supervision *per se*, mandatory for managers, but also reframed medical inspection in disciplinary and economic terms. A bi-product of this was to increase the numbers of inmates discharged from the ship due to being physically, mentally or even attitudinally unsuited to the industrial markets the *Shaftesbury* was engaged with, on medical grounds. Medical checks and quarantine procedures were, however, stringently supported during times when epidemics threatened the ship from shore. A letter from the Inspector of Industrial Schools during the 1884 smallpox outbreak in London requested that the *Shaftesbury's* Medical Officer check the medical state and history of all new admissions and 'where vaccination or re-vaccination is found necessary to have it applied at once'.⁴² As the panic surrounding Russian Influenza gripped London in 1889, the Medical Officer convinced the SMC that 'it would be well for all new boys to be admitted to the infirmary, as far as accommodation will permit, and then be detained there for a fortnight before joining the ship' adding, somewhat pointedly, 'that the measures would not be necessary if boys had been 'properly quarantined for a similar period in a workhouse'.⁴³ The effect of outbreaks in London or Grays was to reverse the spatiality of quarantine, with officers denied access to even visit their homes on shore lest their presently healthy family or house-mates were incubating the disease.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ LMA/SBL/0365-35, 12 December 1882.

⁴¹ LMA/SBL/0365-150, 11 December 1883.

⁴² LMA/SBL/0365-287, 16 December 1884.

⁴³ LMA/SBL/0367-204, 22 October 1889.

⁴⁴ In March 1889 amidst the measles outbreak in Grays, for example, 'officers have remained on board...and are having no communication with their homes': LMA/SBL/0367-124, 26 March 1889.

Perhaps because of the strain that the 1892/3 outbreak of ringworm placed on the ship's resources and culture, Winter 1893 was a turning point in the ship's attitude to the medicalising of its borders. In January that year, after scabies had been exhaustively stamped out on the ship for a period of four years, a boy from St Swythan's Industrial School was admitted with the disease. Somewhat alarmingly, the boy maintained that he had contracted the disease during his workhouse quarantine after being told to share a bed with a boy already infected.⁴⁵ The institution in question – the Greenwich Union Workhouse – denied this claim out-right, stating that the boy had been separated from others during his stay and that the ward officers had no knowledge of the matter.⁴⁶ This, of course, offered little defence against their staff failing to record the disease. When another boy, Sidney Riches, appeared for admission in February following the worst ringworm outbreak in the ship's history, showing obvious signs of the infection, the Medical Officer refused him entry.⁴⁷ When Riches was once again brought to the ship a few days later he was refused again. The initial response from the SMC was to over-rule Dr Male: 'It was decided to instruct the Captain-Superintendent to send an Officer to the Police Court for the boy with a view to his immediate admission; the Committee having undertaken to receive the boy under any circumstances.'⁴⁸ Dr Male met with the SMC and highlighted the severity of threat that the boy's 'disseminated ringworm' posed to the recovering ship. 'The health of the ship as regards contagious and infectious diseases,' he advised them, 'depends very largely on the care and precautions that are taken with the admission of new boys'.⁴⁹ It is perhaps surprising that the SMC needed the reminder, particularly as they were still dealing with the literal costs of hiring the *Fairy Queen*. In any case, they were moved to 'subsequently apply for the boy's discharge, if it should be necessary to do so.'⁵⁰ Dr Male's instinct was

⁴⁵ LMA/SBL/0369-101, 24 January 1893.

⁴⁶ LMA/SBL/0369 134, 21 February 1893.

⁴⁷ LMA/SBL/0368-111/113, 7 February 1893: the initial report by Dr Male names the boys as W. Riches, the subsequent report from the Thames Police Court names him as Sidney Riches.

⁴⁸ LMA/SBL/0369-111, 7 February 1893.

⁴⁹ LMA/SBL/0369-111, 7 February 1893.

⁵⁰ LMA/SBL/0369-111, 7 February 1893.

proved administratively, as well as medically, sound by a subsequent apology issued by the Magistrate of Thames Police Court blaming the case of Riches on the fact that the Doctor they used to check boys as fit for sentencing was absent through illness, and thanking the SMC 'for the trouble taken and the attention given to the case'.⁵¹

The new boldness of the Medical Officer in defending quarantine against the SMC, and the extraordinary disruptions caused by the 1892/3 ringworm outbreak, appear to have contributed to a sea-change in the SMC's commitment to securing a medicalised border for the ship. In March 1893, the SMC 'with the concurrence of the Chairman of the Works Committee' made a formal request to the SBL Surveyor to make 'enquiries, either with a view to the purchase of additional land for the present Infirmary, or for a new site.'⁵² Moves were also under foot to streamline the process by which medical passes, or refusals, onto the ship were organised, with the SMC consulting the Chief Metropolitan Magistrate on the Medical Officer's proposal that 'all new boys...be sent down from London to Grays at a fixed time, especially in the morning' so as to guarantee that they received adequate medical checks.⁵³ It was 1898 before a new bespoke infirmary was opened on West Field with dedicated quarantine, isolation and general treatment spaces. Pictures of the building provide a complete contrast with the *ad hoc* spaces of the previous two infirmaries, its high windows suggesting the veneration of light and air that characterised the optimism of the early descriptions of the *Shaftesbury* itself. Its spatial divisions and design, however, were manifestations of medical concerns not evident in the SMC's discussions or actions before the end of 1892.

⁵¹ LMA/SBL/0369-121, 7 February 1893.

⁵² LMA/SBL/0369-149, 7 March 1893.

⁵³ LMA/SBL/0369-150, 7 March 1893.

Section Two: Discourses of Air

7.2.0 *'Sweet and Dry': The First Discourses of Air*

Ventilation was the most fundamental *health* practice of both SBL schools and the *Shaftesbury*, and was often theorised in apparently miasmatic terms alongside practices that acknowledged more *medical* 'germ theory' aetiology. Indeed, it was in the *Shaftesbury*'s deliberate 'airiness' and zoning of space, as exemplified by the School Deck and Lavatory detailed in chapter three, that the *Shaftesbury* is recognizable as in the Robsonian style. Notions of 'scientific ventilation' were fundamental to SBL architecture, with Robson calculating, for example, that '*from 15 to 20 cubic feet of air per child per minute* was required to pass into the schoolroom in a ceaseless stream'.⁵⁴ The aim was to rid the atmosphere of the school of air 'charged with particles of animal or vegetable matter' that would decompose rendering the room 'offensive' and threatening health.⁵⁵ Ventilation was part of what we may call a 'health' rather than 'medical' discourse on the *Shaftesbury*: part of a list of sanitary concerns that were related to medical problems. At the end of February 1884 the Industrial Schools Inspectorate requested a report on the health and 'sanitary condition' of the ship. The response included headings such as 'Ventilation', 'Drainage', 'Water Supply' and 'apartments in use by the inmates, day and night' in its evaluation.⁵⁶ The movement and composition of air underscored all of these categories, with the exception of water supply which was seen as a route of sickness entering the ship from outside. Ventilation was also about creating a more pleasant living environment, as ineffective drains and 'traps' from outflow pipes frequently caused the ship to be contaminated by the smells of human or food waste, even in the Captain's and Committee's Rooms.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ Robson, p. 283.

⁵⁵ Robson, p. 287.

⁵⁶ LMA/SBL/0365-198, 11 March 1884.

⁵⁷ The Scriven family often complain of 'unpleasant' or 'horrible' smells detectable in their areas of the ship.

Tracing the *Shaftesbury's* discourse on the sanitary practices of ventilation complicates Miller's notions of the medicalization of industrial schools. Concepts of ventilation on the *Shaftesbury* are amorphous and ambiguous for those seeking evidence of the influence of emergent microbial theory. As Lomax notes in her study of late nineteenth-century children's hospitals, obsession with air, light and ventilation was an architectural mainstay of both germ theory sceptics such as Florence Nightingale as well as adherents of the new microbial discoveries.⁵⁸ Certainly, in the *Daily Press's* 1879 review of the ship, ventilation is presented as a *medical* improvement to the standard industrial school ship:

The high standard of health – there is only one boy on the sick list, a case of rheumatism -is in part due to the absolutely perfect ventilation of every part of the ship. Not only is the height between decks very great, and the cubic air-space out of all proportion to that on any other training ship afloat, but all means are employed to secure a proper circulation.⁵⁹

Ventilation on the *Shaftesbury* was linked to spatial volume as well as the current of air. In 1884 the Medical Officer commended the ship's design as 'unrivalled' and with 'an enviable reputation for the healthiness of inmates', a reputation that depended in no small part of the impressiveness of its height between decks.⁶⁰ 'I may state,' Dr Watson wrote to the SMC, 'that the ventilation is most thorough ~~throughout~~, the construction of the ship being specially favourable for free in and out lets [sic]'.⁶¹ This was one of the last years that the Medical Officer could have honestly made such a claim regarding the healthiness of the ship, before the increase in numbers disrupted both its progressive design and healthy reputation. When the ship was re-certified by the Home Office for an extra one hundred and fifty inmates in 1881, its spatial culture was forced to alter dramatically. In December 1883, the Reformatory and Industrial School Inspector warned the SMC that he 'considered that too many boys slept on the

⁵⁸ E. M. Lomax. 'Small and Special: the Development of Hospitals for Children in Victorian Britain', *Medical History*, 16 (1996), pp. 1-217.

⁵⁹ 'The Training Ship Shaftesbury,' *Daily News*, 30 July 1879.

⁶⁰ LMA/SBL/0365-198, 11 March 1884. It is worth noting, in the Medical Officers' defence, that later criticisms of the Ship's overcrowded state suggest that the doctors never avoided speaking their minds.

⁶¹ LMA/SBL/0365-198, 11 March 1884.

lower deck' prompting them to fix fittings for fifty hammocks on the mess deck.⁶² Between 1884-89, as numbers peaked, the simple logistics of finding additional berths caused a breakdown of some of the distinctive spatial practices of the ship. The slow movement of inmates' sleeping accommodation from permanent bed-frames on the Sleeping Deck, to a small overflow in the Class Room on the School Deck, and finally to hammocks on the Mess Deck illustrates this process. The invasion of hammocks into these spaces challenged non-material spatial divides as well: the alterations changed the way space was lit, smelled, and was conceived as private or dedicated zones.

The increase in population also correlated with a decline in the health of the boys. The Captain's Reports from February 1883 to February 1886 chart the rapid rise of inmates on the ship. As figures peaked at around 470 from November 1884 to June 1885, the statistics indicate a 'death zone' on the *Shaftesbury*. In April, May and June 1885 a boy died each month that the population hovered around 470, with another terminal case sent away in June to perish seven months later. Whilst the increased population was never explicitly connected to the deaths in the SMC Minutes, the ship immediately began reducing its population. Twelve boys were released to friends between July and November 1885, twenty-eight between December 1885 and February 1886; compared with more typical numbers of two for December 1884 to February 1885. Despite this concern to reduce occupancy, the *Shaftesbury's* eulogies of its atmosphere continued. Reporting deaths in January (Sidney Watts, acute rheumatism) and February (John Sullivan, Typhoid Fever) of 1885, the Medical Officer's report declared that the ship "continues to be as sweet and dry and as wholesome as ever".⁶³ This floral defence of the ship sat somewhat strangely in the formal report of the death of Sullivan in which it appeared. The metaphor of 'sweetness' was also applied to effective food preservation on ship: in the SMC Minutes there is a request for a refrigerator to 'keep meat sweet'. This representation of the miasmatic atmosphere of the ship also deliberately

⁶² LMA/SBL/0365-156, 11 December 1883.

⁶³ LMA/SBL/0365-303, 3 March 1885.

contrasted with the supposed, external source of Sullivan's infection. Discussing the death by typhoid fever, the Medical Officer

did not think the case need cause any anxiety, his only suggestion being that it would be a decided improvement if the Ship's drinking water could be obtained at a spot where barge loads of manure were not discharged.⁶⁴

Here sickness was seen to enter the ship literally from the damp and fetid world slightly beyond its borders. Whilst the downturn in health in the mid-1880s could be dismissed as the importation of external sickness, health issues developed in the 1880s which saw ventilation reappear as a transformative discourse. This time miasmatic notions would be deployed by external expertise to problematise the ship, leading eventually to the adoption of new conceptualisations of the relationship between air and health in the private discourse of the ship.

7.2.1 Scientific ventilation

Pseudo-miasmatic notions of ventilation were not simply a private health discourse on the *Shaftesbury*, but were a prominent feature of advice issued to the ship by contemporary health experts intervening at the end of the 1880s. In May 1889, Dr Male's report to the SMC notes that a boy with a 'constitutional ulcer of the cornea' named Jeremiah Bryant 'had been admitted into St Bartholomew's Hospital under the care of Mr. Power.'⁶⁵ Henry Power was one of the most prominent ophthalmic surgeons of the day, and vice president of the Royal College of Surgeons. The Medical Officer, facing an outbreak of forty-one cases of ophthalmia on the ship, asked Power to visit the *Shaftesbury* and offer recommendations. Ophthalmia is a contagious, bacterial inflammation of the eye, often known as 'granular lids' in the nineteenth century and called trachoma in the twentieth. If untreated it can lead to blindness. Although this hints at the level of expert-guided practice discussed by Miller in the Irish context, the

⁶⁴ LMA/SBL/0365-302, 3 March 1885.

⁶⁵ LMA/SBL/0367-154, 28 May 1889.

Medical Officer's Report that references Power's advice is more concerned with viewing the illness in relation to ventilation:

That boys so afflicted are specially predisposed to develop inflammatory symptoms, and may, at any time, cause an epidemic of ophthalmia on board...that the cause of the outbreak must be attributed to deficient ventilation; that such boys should be removed from the ship, should undergo treatment and be in the open air as much as possible...calling attention to the question of ventilation; recommending that the improvements suggested in September last should be carried out...

This presentation of ophthalmia was fundamentally miasmatic and anticontagionist: bad air was suggested to have triggered a condition already seeded in the body, and the outbreak was even linked directly to improper ventilation in the boys' urinal. The advice – from one of the country's foremost experts on ophthalmia and given directly to the SMC – shows that the medical discourses that fed into the *Shaftesbury's* practices were far more dissonant than those that Miller has identified in the Irish industrial school context. Mr Henry Power was not ignorant of the methods of hygienic isolation that could be used to stop the disease, and indeed recommended them alongside the advice on ventilation. Neo-miasmatic discussion of ventilation in such cases never inhibited effective medical treatment of the ailment in question on the *Shaftesbury*. Instead recommendations to do with ventilation appeared alongside specific treatment advice, suggesting more 'healthy' practices, such as the importance of inmates being in the 'open air'.

In addition to the influence of the SBL and the external expertise, ventilation was a health practice native to the *Shaftesbury* as a ship. Despite denying the *Shaftesbury* the right to use its isolation facilities, the Medical Officer of the Port of London Sanitary Authority continued to inspect the ship. Visiting the ship in December 1885, the PoLSA's Medical Officer Collingridge issued the SMC with his recommendations:

I have recently had a careful inspection of your vessel...One or two minor points have been noted, attention to which would be of great advantage, as follows...The scuppers on the sleeping and mess decks should be scraped as thoroughly as possible, and fitted with covers. In the two store rooms in after hold a shaft would be run through the deck at the head of

the bedsteads, and enter one of the ports...Will you please let me know when these suggestions have been carried out?'⁶⁶

Part of PoLSA's responsibilities were to ensure the health of the Thames Ports, and this was attempted by policing the air on all ships under its jurisdiction. Following a serious outbreak of scarlet fever on the ship in 1888, Collingridge visited the *Shaftesbury* and published a report of recommendations to reduce the danger of future outbreaks of disease on board. The report includes measures of disinfection, quarantine, and isolation thoroughly conversant with emergent medical understandings of the disease's aetiology. The recommendations begin, however, with a far more miasmatic focus:

The outbreak itself suggests certain obvious precautionary measures for the future. With regard to the general condition of the ship there are two points of special importance. In the first place, the officers' steerage is decidedly close and stuffy, and requires thorough ventilation. This can easily be obtained by passing a large air-shaft up through the board-room to the upper deck, and capping the same with a proper exhaust cowl. The ventilator should be at least 18 inches in diameter. Secondly, on the sleeping deck, the exposure of so much bare iron, with the consequent dampness arising from condensation, is undoubtedly prejudicial to the health of the boys, especially at night. The whole of this surface should be covered with composition to prevent condensation. This could best be done by cork and varnish.⁶⁷

A month before Collingridge published his report, the Reformatory and Industrial Schools inspector Henry Rogers issued his own report on the ship, stating it 'very clean and comfortable'.⁶⁸ The PoLA's Medical Officer was familiar with issues of aggregation from his knowledge of the maritime industry, even being able to discuss ventilation techniques and apertures. From his role inspecting ships he was attuned to health measures that were thought to alleviate the intensively claustrophobic environments of commercial vessels: part doctor, part engineer or designer. It was his, rather than Rogers' industrial school standards, that began to steer the conception of air and space culture on the *Shaftesbury* from this period.

⁶⁶ LMA/SBL/0365-392, 12 January 1886.

⁶⁷ *Port London Sanitary Committee Report, With The Half-Yearly Report of the Medical Officer of Health for The Port of London, To 30th June 1888*. (London: n/k: 1888), p. 14.

⁶⁸ LMA/SBL/0367-24, 10 July 1888 from inspection on 27 June 1888.

There is an extensive literature on the psychological effects on the 1889 Russian Flu pandemic, which is said to have created a sense of vulnerability and panic amongst the population. Before the pandemic arrived, however, the *Shaftesbury* had been forced to re-evaluate its health practices as a result of having its isolation provision removed in the aftermath of an outbreak of scarlet fever. Gone were the depictions of the 'sweet and wholesome' ship, as the *Shaftesbury* honed in on new standards of ventilation as a way of shoring the ship against epidemics. In October 1888, six months after PoLSA withdrew hospital support and three months after Collingridge published his report into the *Shaftesbury's* sanitary practices, Dr Male appeared before the SMC to deliver a set of recommendations for improvement of the *Shaftesbury's* general ventilation: 'The sub-Comm visited the various rooms to which attention was called. It was resolved that class rooms might well be supplied with outlet pipes to be executed by the Artificer on board.'⁶⁹ The Medical Officer continued the pressure to reform the *Shaftesbury's* ventilation, particularly with regard to removing dampness that was found to collect on the decks used for sleeping. Thus began the period during which the airiness of the *Shaftesbury* was re-engineered, steered by the MacDonald Report of 1889, and detailed in chapter three.

By the late 1880s, advice on reforming the *Shaftesbury's* ventilation had been issued by the *Shaftesbury's* medical officer, visitors from the admiralty, medical experts, and private contractors. The process of physically altering the ship in accordance with the 'scientific ventilation' urged by these parties took a number of years, each measure being costed and debated piecemeal by the SMC. Concomitant with the change, however, was a conceptual alteration of the way the ship understood its air-spatiality. Amidst the new *ad hoc* sleeping arrangements, and medical critique, came a rationalisation of allotted space on coldly statistical grounds. So it was that in July 1889, Dr Male

has ascertained that the total cubic capacity of the sleeping space on the three decks is 110,483 cubic feet, which, for 400 boys allows 276 cubic feet per boy, and that it is therefore not desirable that more than 400 boys

⁶⁹ LMA/SBL/0367-75, 16 October 1888.

be received on board, and that of these not more than 200 should sleep on the lower deck.⁷⁰

It was a language that would have been familiar to Scriven. In 1850, and again in 1867, the Merchant Marine Acts set formula for calculating the minimum required sleeping space per sailor on commercial shipping. The Acts required:

There to be nine 'superficial' (i.e. square) feet if hammocks were used and twelve otherwise (just enough space to lie in...It was to be properly caulked and well ventilated, with a minimum height of six feet or to allow fifty-four cubic feet (hammock) or seventy-two cubic feet (otherwise). Seamen were granted the somewhat impractical right to go ashore to complain to the Shipping Office if they considered it did not meet these criteria.⁷¹

The cubic entitlements of the Merchant Maritime Acts were hard won concessions from an industry that traditionally had little respect for the health or privacy of its able seamen. Whilst the *Shaftesbury* awarded its inmates far greater 'cubic' space than the minimum in the merchant marine, it is important to note the way that the upper limit on inmates set by the Medical Officer – some one hundred inmates short of the official maximum – safeguarded only an abstract notion of air-space, not cultures of space nor, indeed, passage of air. The division of boys into decks was discussed as if a simple problem of division. The guarantee of cubic space smacked more of the old prison hulk, rationalising its volumes along minimum health grounds, than the *Shaftesbury* which had been designed with distinct cultures of space and airflow in mind. Dr Males' defence of inmates' cubic space entitlement perfectly symbolises the fall of the *Shaftesbury* from a beacon of progressive residential pedagogy. Overpopulation of the ship, wear and tear, and improvements in general industrial practices had made ventilation a problem, rather than a feature, for the *Shaftesbury*.

⁷⁰ LMA/SBL/0367-182, 16 July 1889.

⁷¹ Tim Carter, *Merchant Seaman's Health, 1860-1960: medicine, Technology, Shipowners and the State in Britain*, (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014), p. 89.

Conclusion

In her history of industrial schools, Gear notes that levels of mortality and contagious diseases at the institutions were ‘relatively low for the period’, adding that ‘on the whole industrial schools do not appear to have suffered from the high incidence of ophthalmia that occurred in Poor Law Schools, however the often inadequate sanitation systems did give rise to various fevers.’⁷² The evidence from the *Shaftesbury* to some extent agrees with Gear’s defence of the industrial school on health grounds. The health standards at the workhouses where boys were ‘quarantined’ before entry show that the *Shaftesbury*’s standards of disease observation and treatment were clearly higher than many non-industrial school environments, and improved greatly by the end of my research period. Whilst there were occasional outbreaks of both ringworm and ophthalmia aboard, there were periods when the medical reports mention no cases at all. Gear also notes that industrial schools in remote areas proved more resistant to infection from diseases that raged amongst the general population. Accordingly, the physical and cultural barriers between the *Shaftesbury* and the shore seem to have saved the ship from succumbing to the first wave of Russian Influenza and measles, when they raged on shore. There is a problem with the optimism of both Gear and Miller’s interpretation of the industrial school as a health provider, however. The problem lies not in the relative success, or theoretical underpinnings, of the institutions’ health practices, but rather in the lack of acknowledgement that the institutions themselves carried endemic health risks for inmates.

The most serious health threats to the standard board school were known to arise from the communication of infection by aggregated population: from the school as a ‘site of exchange’ for rashes and disease. In his 1896 article in the *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* on school hygiene, the Medical Officer of the Bradford School Board noted

The accumulation of large numbers of children has certain effects from mere aggregation, as Dr Sykes, of St. Pancras, says: “In proportion to the

⁷² Gear, p. 149.

increase to the size of an institution, so should the precautions to prevent the spread of disease be increased; and there is no doubt that in large institutions there is a point at which the precautions become so complicated and so extensive as to outweigh the advantages of exceeding a certain limit of size”⁷³

Although compulsory schooling in Britain is often said to have produced ‘great centres of contagion’, Homei and Worboys’ note, ‘[l]ess recognised then, as now, was that schools were sites of exchange of endemic, social diseases, from serious, typically fatal infections, such as tuberculosis, through to endemic conditions, such as ringworm, which had mild symptoms but carried severe social stigma.’ It is no coincidence that discussing plans for industrial schools in *School Architecture*, Robson was adamant that numbers should be kept low: with one hundred inmates per institution suggested as the ideal number. Infections such as ringworm and ophthalmia spread easily in the daily confinement of the school, and proved endemic to the residential environment of the *Shaftesbury*. For ordinary board schools, excluding pupils due to illnesses such as ringworm or scarlet fever was so prevalent that some schools were forced to close permanently through absence of pupils.⁷⁴ Progress was slow, and breakthroughs were made only via the introduction of ‘new professional groups, such as nurses and health visitors’ after the First World War.⁷⁵ In 1909-10, Coventry schools excluded over three hundred pupils for ringworm, many for over a year.⁷⁶ As costly as the mechanism of exclusion was for the board school, it was also relatively simple. The problem for the SBL was that protecting health on its residential industrial school ship necessitated much more complicated notions of ‘healthy’ space and often impossible divisions of limited space to protect against the effects of permanent aggregation.

⁷³ Watson, ‘Reformatory and Industrial,’ p621: the quote cited is from ‘The Poor Law School Commission Report, Section 66’.

⁷⁴ The efficacy of such isolation – especially for populations which mixed freely outside of school – has been questioned by historians. Yet exclusion, like truancy, was an extremely productive technology in theoretical terms. If prosecution for truancy underlined the school as a normal space of childhood, isolation cases suggested that the school building was a space that would not propagate disease.

⁷⁵ Sheldon, p. 175.

⁷⁶ Sheldon, p. 175.

Miller's analysis does not mention this connection between the institution and the diseases themselves, but sees the measures instituted by Lentaigne as part of a benign technology against invading diseases. Lentaigne was 'attuned to the need to inspect child health', and

sought to tackle conditions including ophthalmia through frequent medical inspections, close attention to lavatory arrangements, and the isolation of acute cases. Ringworm (a fungal disease of the skin) also became managed through the provision of separate towels, combs and brushes, coupled with regular medical inspection.

The use of the word 'managed' here is ambiguous in Miller's passages. There is a suggestion in Miller's work, in the attribution of the birth of universal paediatric health provision and the inspection and management of disease, that the industrial schools acted as neutral spaces in which existing diseases of poor children could be better targeted and treated. In fact, the 'management' was of a different kind: it was the amelioration (though never the eradication) of health threats endemic to an institutional space and culture. In 1871, Tanner and Meadows' third edition of the influential *Treatise on the Diseases of Infancy of Childhood* notes:

When large numbers of children are crowded together, as in workhouse schools, orphanages, and similar institutions, a contagious form of ophthalmia often becomes prevalent. When children that have suffered from this disease are examined, it will be found that in nearly all of them, even after apparent recovery, there remains undue conjunctival vascularity....[a]s long as such conditions remain, the disease is only dormant, and may at any time return in full activity; whilst community of towels or pillow-cases, and the intercourse of the playground, may communicate it to all new comers.⁷⁷

Treatment was to be found in 'attention to cleanliness', through the use of 'sanitary precautions' and in 'suitable medicines'. The 'obstinate and troublesome' disease, the authors finally suggest, 'may cling to a school or other

⁷⁷ Thomas Hawkes Tanner and Alfred Meadows. *A Practical Treatise on the Diseases of Infancy and Childhood*, (Philadelphia: Lindsey and Blakiston, 1871), p. 431.

institution for years.’⁷⁸ Thus, ophthalmia was not only a disease that could be passed, microbially, through aggregation, but was conceptualised as inhabiting physical institutions themselves. The same was true of that other habitual scourge of the *Shaftesbury*, ringworm. Homei and Worboys note that despite the evidence of ringworm throughout human history, it only ‘gained serious medical and public attention in the second half of the nineteenth century, and then in a specific social group and setting: school children and schooling’.⁷⁹ Mid-Victorian outbreaks in ‘schools, workhouses and other institutions’, were largely ignored.⁸⁰ After 1870, however, mass and then compulsory schooling led to political and medical interest, enhanced by the numerous school medical officers. Such interest, however emergent or successful the understandings it brought to the treatment of disease, was focused on mediating endemic threats to institutions rather than public health.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the discourses and practices of health detailed in this chapter were constructed in a way that ignored the existential problem of the *Shaftesbury*. More surprising are the struggles between rationale and materiality that appear in the two decades before 1898. Whilst the theoretical value of isolation and quarantine was thought to assist with reducing health risks to the general population, the move towards adequate provision was inexplicably slow and fitful. Despite occasional pressure from both Liberal (Davenport-Hill) and more conservatively minded members (Lobb), the issue failed to capture the full attention of the SMC. The sizable budget needed to provide provision almost certainly deterred interest in the scheme: the SMC were reluctant to accidentally create another financial scandal.

⁷⁸ Thomas Hawkes Tanner and Alfred Meadows. *A Practical Treatise on the Diseases of Infancy and Childhood*, (Philadelphia: Lindsey and Blakiston, 1871), p. 431.

⁷⁹ Aya Homei and Michael Worboys, *Fungal Disease in Britain and the United States 1850-2000: Mycoses and Modernity*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 41.

⁸⁰ Aya Homei and Michael Worboys, *Fungal Disease in Britain and the United States 1850-2000: Mycoses and Modernity*, (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 25.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion

Section One: Concluding Summary

This thesis began, in chapters two and three, by offering accounts of the construction of the ship. Chapter two presented the ship as both a political symbol and a public stage. For conservatives already exasperated by the SBL lavishing rate-payers' money on universal education (and its own prestigious offices), the *Shaftesbury* quickly became a perfect symbol of all that was wrong with the administrative body. Look at what the SBL does even with an institution as simple and perfunctory as a humble training ship, the press accounts argued. The 'Rug Scandal' also led to the ship becoming highly politicised within the SBL. The *Shaftesbury* was well known enough during the early 1880s to be cited negatively by those standing in the Board elections on anti-corruption platforms.

Chapter three gave an account of the *Shaftesbury's* materiality that challenged the suggestions that the ship's design was the result of accident, extravagance or incompetence. The 'walk through' was also an overview of the rationales and cultural life of the ship. From the inside, we saw the ship as a planned and considered space. Little in the inmates' areas of the ship could be called luxurious, although the design features displayed progressive rationales: bed frames allowed for permanent private storage, maximisation of air and light improved quality of life, and the addition of class-rooms to the school-room came with the promise of cutting-edge pedagogy. The symbolic codes and goods that were used to discredit the ship in the press – its feminine domestic aesthetic and luxurious goods – were found to be often used as territorial markers in the Captain's appropriation of space on board the ship.

Chapter four and five engaged with the suggestions of cruelty that frequently appear in literature on industrial schools and ships, exploring the *Shaftesbury's* disciplinary regime and relation to the marine industry. Chapter four showed that although corporal punishment was a regular occurrence on ship, extensive

systems were in place, and efforts made, to keep its use within legal and humane limits. The chapter also explored the culture of financial and spatial 'rewards' on the *Shaftesbury*, apparently a common feature of industrial schools. This system was intended to inculcate self-regulation within inmates, and involved a complex symbolic culture based around uniform 'badges'. Chapter five found that, whilst the boys 'sent to sea' from the *Shaftesbury* faced great uncertainty and possible exploitation, the management moved slowly towards obtaining more secure conditions for inmates by the end of my research period. The chapter also suggested that the need to secure inmates willing to be 'sent to sea' led the *Shaftesbury* to offer inmates from other industrial schools the choice of transferring onto the ship. The latter part of the chapter highlighted degrees of agency and inter-institutionality in the *Shaftesbury's* culture, an area undervalued in the existing literature on industrial school ships.

Chapter six began by exploring the *Shaftesbury* as a sanitary isolation zone for inmates from the physical and moral contamination of their home environments. Similar concerns, it was argued, seem reflected in the ship's relations with inmates' families. Judgments on whether inmates could return home early on licence were rationalised with reference to the materiality and aesthetics of inmates' domestic environments. Accordingly, much in Scriven's paternalistic manner and the *Shaftesbury's* design suggested the ship as an alternative family. The second section of the chapter challenged notions that the ship operated a 'hard border', detailing the opportunities that inmates had to receive visitors and return home for holidays. In place of isolation, it was argued, such things as public performance and uniform constituted more productive divisions between inmate and their family.

Chapter Seven exposed the contradictions, compromises and inadequacies that plagued the *Shaftesbury's* medical provision. Challenging recent depictions of the competency of Irish industrial school medical policy, the chapter presented the struggles that the ship faced in establishing effective infirmary, isolation and quarantine provision. The second section of the chapter dealt with the neo-miasmatic discourses of air that were used to discuss the ship's health, noting the

mixture of pre- and post germ-theory aetiologies invoked. The chapter ended with the suggestion that the *Shaftesbury* deliberately avoided conceptualising its endemic health problems, such as ringworm and ophthalmia, as a product of institutionalisation.

In three short sections to follow, I explore more general themes that have developed throughout my research on the ship. The first highlights the complexity of gendering the material culture of the *Shaftesbury*, and suggests that the ship's aesthetics may be used instead to position it within the evolution of childhood in the nineteenth century. The second section suggests the notion of 'performance' in the *Shaftesbury's* culture, discussed in chapter six, may be valuable in assessing it as an 'authentic' ship. The final section draws attention to the significance of inter-institutional networks to the ship, and the need to re-evaluate the importance of 'internal' markets in inmates and goods as a primary function of industrial schools and ships.

Section Two: Concluding Discussion

8.2.0 Gender, Cost and the De-Industrialised Child

Despite often being portrayed as a feminising institution, the *Shaftesbury* is a difficult institution to gender. In March 1879, amongst the early coverage of the 'Rug Scandal', the *Morning Post* invited readers to imagine the role that women had played in helping to investigate and condemn the SMC's over-expenditure on domestic objects:

If there is anything in the world that women love to dabble in it is in furniture and crockery. They are never tired of giving opinions on chairs and table, carpets and curtains, china and glass, pictures and mirrors. To these items on board the *Shaftesbury* Mrs. FENWICK MILLER, Mrs. WESTLAKE, and Mrs. SURR have given their fullest powers of critical investigation. What part the only other lady member – Miss TAYLOR – may have taken in this matter is not stated. Probably she has preferred to leave it to the greater experience of her married colleagues... But to keep ourselves to what has actually taken place, Mrs. FENWICK MILLER moved: 'That the Board express their disapproval of the manner in which

liabilities have been incurred by the industrial Schools Committee without the consent or knowledge of the Board...'⁸¹

Unable to see past gender stereotypes, the paper had completely misrepresented the situation. Westlake, with Scriven and Scrutton, had in fact also been part of the 1878 committee that had overseen the original furnishing of the *Shaftesbury* and continued to support the ship;⁸² Fenwick Miller and Surr were staunch opponents of both the ship and the committee that created it.⁸³ The situation is illustrative of the confusion of gender for politics that distinguish the perception of women's involvement with the *Shaftesbury*. On one hand, such accounts were predicated on a limited view of women's administrative capacity and authority within the SBL. Female SBL members were only perceived as useful or interested in their SBL duties insofar as they constituted an extension of the private domestic sphere. On the other, as Martin suggests, it must be acknowledged that '[f]emale Board members capitalised on conventional expectations, emphasizing the links between educational administration and women's traditional role as educator and selfless nurturer of the young. Just as female candidates chose to stress the moral aspects of the service they were offering the women and children of another social class.'⁸⁴ Accordingly, confusion and ambiguity colours any attempt to historically engage with the *Shaftesbury* as a gendered institution.

The satirical poem at the beginning of this thesis appeared in the *Pall Mall Gazette* in December 1879. The images of the Stoker, with his Whistler etchings and portrait of 'Connie Gilchrist' 'aesthetically sipping' his beer were written to amuse, but they gave voice to common anxieties. By the time the poem was published the *Shaftesbury* was already widely being characterised as a 'feminine' ship in the popular press. This was a characterization that continued throughout the ship's life. In conservative journals, as we have seen, this was done boldly; the ship was lampooned as a 'floating nursery' and boys were depicted holding

⁸¹ *The Morning Post*, 19 March, 1879, p. 4.

⁸² LMA/SBL/0363.

⁸³ Martin, 'Hard-Headed'.

⁸⁴ Jane Martin, 'Entering the Public Arena: Female Members of the London School Board, 1870-1904, *History of Education: Journal of the History of Education Society*, 22:3 (1993), pp. 225-240, p. 230.

white lilies instead of guns. In the 'national' press the ship's undesired femininity was proposed more subtly, being discussed almost exclusively in terms of wanton domestic luxury. In chapter two, I noted that the condemnation of this 'softening' aesthetic was an extension of standard politically motivated attacks against the SBL itself. For a substantial part of the *Shaftesbury's* history, however, the Liberal-minded 'Ladies' of Lang's refrain had literally taken over the ship. As highlighted in the introduction, female members Davenport-Hill and Westlake dominated the SMC during its early years. It is difficult to plot any direct link between the prominence of female management and the ship's progressive architecture, domestic aesthetic, and style of management, nevertheless. Gear asserts that such things as the disciplinary culture of industrial schools were products of the male managers' own experiences of in public schools, and we may certainly suggest that SMC decisions made over such things as furnishings and discipline were steered by the normative frame of middle-class, Liberal women. One of the challenges that the *Shaftesbury* poses to the more general history of industrial schools and ships lies in this political and gendered complexity. The *Wellesley* may rightly be seen as a 'perfect storm' of poor management: draconian captains, abusive staff, and a paranoid masochist Medical Officer overseen by a disinterested, small committee. The *Shaftesbury* offers a similarly significant accumulation of dissonant well-meaning influences.

Without resorting to individual biographies and minute dissection of particular policies, we may instead read the *Shaftesbury* as a kind of discursive and material act in itself. Turning the arguments over the cost of the ship in contemporary press on their head, it might be suggested that the *Shaftesbury's* architecture and material culture placed a deliberately high-price on in its inmates. From Scriven's rugs which rivalled those of officer training ships, to the level of social and cultural capital brought into the SMC Committee Rooms by members, the *Shaftesbury* was a floating statement of the SBL's philosophy. Robson was not building schools or residential accommodation, but the materials of social intervention. In *School Architecture*, published four years before the *Shaftesbury* was created, he wrote

The Industrial School stands on the border land between vice and virtue; and is intended to prevent as many as possible from entering, at an early age, the lands beyond from which return is difficult ...unless immediate steps be taken to arrest their course, and lead them in a better direction.⁸⁵

This had been Hanway's aim in the eighteenth century too, when he started the Marine Society. At the heart of the *Shaftesbury* stood a very different notion of children and childhood, however. 'The industrial school,' Robson continued, 'is a school for the neglected.'⁸⁶ The presentation of the ship as a variety of alternative family, and the concomitant reduction of the status of the 'real' family, were a product of the reformatory movement's re-construction of the ideal of the de-industrialised 'child'. Margaret May has drawn attention to the reformatory and industrial school as 'a seminal point in the evolution of the modern child'.⁸⁷ Whilst they maintained links with industry, the institutions also were the products of discourses of 'lost' childhoods. This was not abstract, but something we can find reflected in the rationales of the staff themselves. As May states

The Commander of the Reformatory Ship *Akbar* saw his task clearly, "the first great change which has to be affected...when they are received on board in their vagrant state is to make them 'boys'. They are too old, too knowing, too sharp when they come on board, too much up in the ways of the world."⁸⁸

Whilst it is perhaps difficult to see exactly how the Commander endeavoured to do this in the environs of the *Akbar*, it was written into the fabric of the *Shaftesbury* itself. Sheldon calls attention to the influence of the Romantic notion of 'childhood innocence' combined with middle-class domestic practices – including increased household budgets during the nineteenth century – that forged the construction of the child between the late eighteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁸⁹ The *Shaftesbury*'s aesthetic is a snap-shot in time of a particular expression of this evolution, merged with the distinctive progressive pedagogy and architecture of the SBL. When *Moonshine* lampooned the

⁸⁵ Robson, p. 351.

⁸⁶ Robson, p. 354.

⁸⁷ Margaret May, p. 29

⁸⁸ S. Turner, 'Reformatory Schools, A Letter to C.B. Adderley, MP,' in *May, Innocence*, p. 29

⁸⁹ Sheldon, p. 28

Shaftesbury in 1881 as trying to “humanise” the little dears, and as a ‘nautical nursery’, we may recall, it was in reaction to the accoutrements of middle-class child-rearing.⁹⁰

Viviana Zelizer’s *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* has explored the concomitant transformation, in American society, of child value being calculated by industrial potential to non-productivity.⁹¹ Zelizer locates the emergence of the child as a costly, cared for entity during the latter half of the nineteenth century as middle-class mores of the home as a non-productive environment, and institutions (schools, reformatories) that enforced the separation of children from adults in most aspects of daily life emerged. The *Shaftesbury* had one unsteady foot in both these worlds. Its industrial training pointed backwards towards the child as a productive unit, albeit in a manner unsuited to the real emergent employment opportunities aboard steamers. Its care in supplying state-of-the-art school facilities, personal space, ‘lofty’ bathing rooms, encapsulated the middle-class liberal progressive vision of the SBL, an aesthetic that faded with the fall of the Board itself at the turn of the century. The dichotomy explains many of the substantial contradictions of the ship. Controversial, compromised and eventually frayed by the utility of the training ship tradition, the *Shaftesbury* ultimately resists both the common narrative of the ‘bad’ industrial school and my own conception of the ‘better’ one. The areas where the SMC failed its inmates - in abandoning them to the awful conditions of the Grimsby fishing smacks, or in its sub-standard medical provision - can even be linked to its progressive preoccupation with aesthetics and design. The scandal that developed from the initial cost of the ship made the SBL reluctant to embark on further large-scale projects on behalf of the ship. The lack of attention to the needs of the *Shaftesbury* as a humble training ship, and to the requirements of the actual commercial marine sector, by the SMC led to Scriven having to find berths where he could.

⁹⁰ ‘Lord Randolph Churchill asks for a holiday at Easter, and he deserves one’, *Moonshine*, 26 March 1881, p. 146.

⁹¹ Viviana A. Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (New York: 1985).

8.2.1 *Performing the Ship*

The *Shaftesbury* appears to have eschewed the harsh disciplinary culture found on some training ships. As Bovill has noted, the aspects of the *Wellesley's* punishment culture that provoked the most outrage at the Home Office were common on Royal Navy training vessels, and were often directly imported, along with staff, from them. Whilst the SMC was doubtless vital in providing oversight on punishments, as discussed in chapter four, much of the culture of the *Shaftesbury* was dependent upon the Captain's sensibilities. Captain Scriven gave up a Royal Navy pension to dedicate the rest of his career to the ship, apparently driven by the morality of his non-conformist faith. The 'Tripe Scandal', which caused considerable damage to his personal and professional reputation, showed him to be far from an accomplished administrator. Perhaps more worryingly, for Westlake and Davenport-Hill, he also emerges from the sources as quick to anger with colleagues and entirely opposed to the influence of women on the ship. Scriven brought little of the Royal Navy's brutality onto the *Shaftesbury*, however. Discussing the *Shaftesbury* in the DCRIC, he even factored inmates' happiness and comfort into the ship's disciplinary system:

[inmates' generally good behaviour was attributable]...in a very large measure to the constant supervision I am able to exercise over them with the liberal staff of officers you have been good enough to place under my command...By having an officer with the Boys during the night as well as the day, watching over the morals of the lads, encouraging them to good conduct, neatness, order and strict obedience to duty, furnishing occupation or amusement for them during recreation hours; all of these I feel certain has tended very much towards making the Boys happy and comfortable, and consequently reducing the punishments to a minimum.⁹²

In addition to complicating the idea of what kind of industrial school the *Shaftesbury* was, we have also been confronted with the difficult question of what kind of training ship it was during this study. Certainly, it would be difficult to call it a 'success' in terms of its industrial function. So much of the *Shaftesbury's* 'shippiness' remains symbolic and tenuous: its sail-ship façade,

⁹² LMA/SBL/0363-217, 27 May 1879.

female-dominated management, and progressive punishment regimes. The theme of identity as a kind of transformative performance to external gaze, found in relation to inmates in chapter six, might feasibly be extended to the entirety of the institution. We might pose the *Shaftesbury*, as a simulated environment, as inherently a stage of a sort. The most significant performance by the *Shaftesbury*'s staff and inmates remained their commitment to acting as sailors. Although the inmates appeared convincing to officials, tourists and family, it is still surprising that some visitors came in search of 'real life' naval experience. In March 1879, Sub-Lieutenant Wickens from the 3rd Battery of the Royal Naval Artillery Volunteers wrote to the Captain asking if a party of his men would be allowed to live on board the *Shaftesbury* for a few days at Easter.⁹³ The 2nd Battery had previously spent time aboard the *Exmouth*. The SMC, petitioning the ISC for permission to host the Volunteers, saw positives for both parties:

it is found that the insight into ship life and discipline which the men derive from these visits proves very beneficial to them. The men conform to the discipline of the ship in every respect, and the Committee consider that it would be an advantage to the Boys on board the '*Shaftesbury*' to see that gentlemen undertake voluntarily to do work similar to their own and willingly obey the commands of their officers.⁹⁴

The suggestion is of a private, rather than public, exchange of performative acts. Although the Volunteers were no more seafarers than the inmates, each party was empowered by the other's pretence. However unlikely the benefits to the Navy Volunteers may seem, the event underlines the importance of material conditions to the construction of sailor habitus and cultural capital. The inmates and the Volunteers were, in a variety of ways, opposites. The boys, the majority of whom had no interest in going to sea, were sent to the ship against their will. They were considered undesirable by the Royal Navy, and were taken by commercial vessels only reluctantly. Yet so powerful was the enculturation enacted by the ship's rituals, materials and space – even on this 'aesthetic school board training ship' – that the inmates' manners and habits were object lessons to the Volunteers. Attracting the Volunteers was a validation for both the

⁹³ LMA/SBL/0363-173, 25 March 1879.

⁹⁴ LMA/SBL/SBL-0363-174, 25 March 1879.

Exmouth and the *Shaftesbury* that they were *culturally* ships. The attempts to refashion the *Shaftesbury* as a Wooden-Wall look-a-like had always left a question mark over its actual cultural identity. Ironically, the gutting of the modern machinery of steam and the disguising of the iron hull not only left the ship unseaworthy but also stripped it of contemporary relevance to the increasingly mechanical mercantile marine. Visitations by parties such as the Volunteers could never make the *Shaftesbury* a real ship, but they could endorse the pretence that the institution operated under. Despite the SMC's troubled relationship with the Admiralty in the 1890s, the connection with the Naval Reserve also preserved a positive relationship between the ship and at least one Rear-Admiral.⁹⁵

Discussions of identity and performance in the functionality of the *Shaftesbury* over the course of this study have involved concepts of visitation, audience, fabrication, and simulation that we might associate more with theme-park style 'reconstructions' than an authentic training institution. Rather than view this association as pejorative, I would suggest that it offers a valuable comparative perspective on the *Shaftesbury* as a cultural institution, and the position from which it was forced to defend itself. Discussing 'recreated' or simulated historic sites, Edward Bruner draws a distinction between the authenticities of verisimilitude and genuineness.⁹⁶ The former, 'means credible and convincing, and this is the objective of most museum professionals, to produce a historic site believable to the public, to achieve mimetic credibility'; the latter a 'complete and accurate simulation, one that is historically accurate and true'.⁹⁷ The cultural *place* of the *Shaftesbury* wavered between comparable interpretations of authenticity. As discussed in the early chapters, the *Shaftesbury* was always in disguise as an old 'wooden wall'. As such a mimetic space the ship could only ever achieve verisimilitude. Despite this, the Admiralty

⁹⁵ LMA/SBL/0369, 19 April 1893: for example, Rear Admiral Fitzroy, Admiral Superintendent of the Naval Reserves visited the Ship, met by the SMC Chairman and a member called General Sim. Fitzroy became a 'contact' at the admiralty.

⁹⁶ Edward Bruner, Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism, *American Anthropologist*, 96 (1994), pp. 397-415.

⁹⁷ Edward Bruner, Abraham Lincoln as Authentic Reproduction: A Critique of Postmodernism, *American Anthropologist*, 96 (1994), p. 399.

pushed it further towards an historical authenticity it could not achieve: suggesting cutlass drill, supplying archaic small field guns, undermining its utility in public. As discussed above, however, to less expert eyes the *Shaftesbury* was able to fabricate genuineness. From the journalists who were taken in by the ship's façade, to the Royal Navy Reserve Volunteers who sought experience of its culture, the ship was viewed as a site of genuine, rather than fabricated, tradition. Gable and Handler suggest in their study on 'recreated' cultural sites that achieving authenticity is not just about passively performing to type, but involves actively managing attacks on credibility by negotiating expectations with visitors.⁹⁸ The 'credibility armour' of the institution is protected by such things as discussing with visitors the necessity of hiding modern facilities behind archaic facades, and blaming inauthentic elements on the need to accommodate the visitors. To the majority of those whose gaze fell upon the ship – the press reading public, the citizens of Grays, the inmates' friends and family, visiting dignitaries and clubs – the *Shaftesbury's* 'credibility armour' held. They understood the limitations, and praised the ship-like ship. But for a crucially influential minority of Naval and political figures, the ship remained a whimsical compromise. The performance of its daily routines viewed by many at the Admiralty as a pantomime. The objects and aesthetic lampooned in Lang's poem highlight a degree of surplus significance found in the ship's culture, deviations from the utility and functionality that were supposed to signify the culture of the authentic industrial training ship.

8.2.3 *Inter-Institutionality*

The notion of the ship as a stand-alone institution has also been challenged at various points in the preceding chapters. Entering into this study, the physical liminality and management structure of industrial school ships suggested that the *Shaftesbury* might be considered as a discrete institution. In fact, the ship was linked to other institutions by an emergent 'network' that grew stronger as my

⁹⁸ Eric Gable and Richard Handler 'After Authenticity at an American Heritage Site' in *The Anthropology of Space and Place: Locating Culture*, ed by Setha m. Low and Denise Lawrence-Zuniga (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2003).

research period progressed. Initially, the links with other industrial schools were piecemeal; with boys being transferred occasionally after being deemed unfit for sea-training. Gradually, however, something akin to a standard set of inter-institutional pathways developed. There was a flow of badly behaved inmates towards reformatories, and an almost continuous stream of 'unfit' inmates to land-based schools. Later on in my research period, pathways created for land-based industrial school inmates to transfer onto the *Shaftesbury* made the network bi-directional. There are two, somewhat contradictory, features of this network that are important. Firstly, it enshrined degrees of agency and choice that are little discussed within accounts of the late nineteenth-century industrial school system. The idea, presented in chapter five, that inmates in land-based industrial schools could choose to transfer onto the *Shaftesbury* or that parents of inmates would politely request transfer onto the ship, suggests a re-evaluation is needed of the role of inmate agency within the more general industrial school system of the period. The second important feature of the network was that it was based on sorting inmates via a series of categories based around behaviour, attitude, physicality (health, size, etc) and economic value. The medical and psychological taxonomies discussed by Nikolas Rose are not evident during my research period, which revolved around broader 'types' of inmates and institutions. Nevertheless, inmates appear as the subjects of inter-institutionalised selection, sorting and rationalisation. Although outside the remit of this study, this suggests that inter-institutional networks based around selection criteria developed organically at a variety of points in the emergent compulsory schooling system.

The *Shaftesbury* not only transferred inmates out of its control to other industrial schools, but also paid to use the *Havannah* Industrial School Ship as a home for inmates looking for work in Cardiff. The arrangement was for very practical reasons, as discussed in chapter five, but it led to the 'luxurious' *Shaftesbury* incongruously linking itself with the *Havannah*, an eccentric oddity that looked like an architectural portmanteau. At least architecturally, the institutions represented the extreme poles of the industrial school ship sector. The *Welsh Evening Express* dryly noted that a series of improvements

undertaken on the *Havannah* during the Summer of 1896, before the *Shaftesbury* boys arrived, had 'given her something of an amphibious character':

The capacious schoolroom built on her deck, armour-plated with corrugated iron, while adding immensely to the comfort of the inmates, had destroyed what naval symmetry she possessed, and gives her the appearance of a cross between a barrack and a mission chapel.⁹⁹

Here, then, we find at last a link between the *Shaftesbury* and Ashurt and Venn's archetypal 'barrack' like industrial school, the symbol of cold, de-humanising institutionalisation. The *Shaftesbury* has challenged this image of the industrial school and school ship along both architectural and cultural lines. The *Havannah* suggests that the process of finding other 'better schools' may involve looking beyond the aesthetics of institutions. Its resemblance to a barrack was the result of improvements in its provision, albeit in a way that ignored costly aesthetic considerations. The 'several hundred pounds of improvements' included '[a] large slate bath...on her gun-deck big enough for the boys to swim in, and heating apparatus added, which keeps the water at a moderate temperature in winter.'¹⁰⁰ Including an enlarged playground, and measures taken to 'keep the garden fertile', the improvements were suggested not only to keep the inmates and HM Inspectors happy, but also the 'various school boards in London, Oldham, and elsewhere who send boys to the school'.¹⁰¹ As well as providing a cautionary tale on the interpretation of institutional aesthetics, the relationship between the *Shaftesbury* and the *Havannah* shows that the administrative interconnectedness of industrial school ships promoted improvements in provision. The primary financial function of industrial school ships have always been located in their relation to the sea-trade, but as inmate numbers expanded institutions began to develop economies based around the school board contracts and the supply of goods to sibling institutions. By April 1895, with the appearance of extra capacity on the *Shaftesbury*, the SBL was also considering the market as a provider for other School Boards and local authorities around

⁹⁹ Welsh Evening Express, 28 Sept 1896, p. 2.

¹⁰⁰ Welsh Evening Express, 28 Sept 1896, p. 2.

¹⁰¹ Welsh Evening Express, 28 Sept 1896, p. 2.

the Country looking for an industrial school ship.¹⁰² When the *Shaftesbury* began poaching boys interested in sea-work from other industrial schools in 1898 it was often from institutions that already had financial relationships with the ship. Field-Lane Industrial School, Home-in-the-East Industrial School and a host of others sold services and goods – often related to the mending or making of boots – to the ship.¹⁰³

Section Three: Further Research and the Academic Field

The small academic, and more sizable non-academic, literature on industrial school ships show an institutional species with considerable cultural, material and administrative diversity. The hope is that my study may steer others towards closer examination of the material and symbolic cultures of these ships. The aim of chapter four and five, particularly, was to ‘reach out’ to areas of the academic field that are prepared to use industrial schools and training ships as cautionary examples, and urge those attempting to do so in future to offer more nuanced and grounded discussions of the institutions.

During my analysis a number of more theoretical elements of culture have emerged, which I hope may influence future perspectives on industrial schools in general. Two examples illustrate this. The first concerns the symbolic role of clothing on the ship. The disciplines, practices, and performances involved in the wearing of uniform were extremely complex: annotating the inmate in relation to moral codes, anchoring them within a set a commercial and cultural markets, gifting them cultural and social capitals at the expense of particular habitus. Gear’s work suggests that comparable cultures existed in land-based industrial schools. More detailed exploration of this subject across a few industrial schools and/or ships may assist with focussing attention of the richness, rather than the drabness, of the institutions’ cultures.

¹⁰² LMA/SBL/0370-69, 30 April 1895: weekly cost was suggested as 4s 8.5d, no extra staff would be needed.

¹⁰³ LMA/SBL/0364-212, 7 February 1882: ‘From Field-Lane Industrial School – 25 pairs boots, £8 15s. From Home-in-the-East – 20lbs. leather. 25 pairs sea boots’

The second concerns discrepancies between the discourses of health on the *Shaftesbury* and the actual effect of long-term physical enclosure within a hulk. Discussions of ill-health and treatment on the *Shaftesbury* self-censored to an extraordinary degree, excluding discussions on the dangers of aggregation or the fact that health issues such as ringworm and ophthalmia were generally considered to be a symptom of institutionalisation. Whilst writing chapter seven it occurred to me that a study focussed on what industrial schools' health discourses were censoring from consideration might lead to valuable perspectives on a variety of other aspects of their culture.

I began this thesis by picturing industrial school ships as liminal institutions: literally stuck between shore and sea, administratively straggling the educative and penal, historiographically marooned between the various interests of the academy. The *Shaftesbury*, during the course of the chapters that followed, was revealed as an institutional snap-shot of key political and cultural movements. It engaged, negotiated with, and scandalised the world around it. As we have seen, however, the *Shaftesbury* also remained remarkably ambiguous to those seeking to define it. It is precisely the ship's status as a contested or hybrid cultural and political site that make its study valuable to historians of late nineteenth-century Britain.

The SBL's 'show boat' marked the end of the line for industrial school ships: somewhat ironically constituting the institutional species' material and cultural apex, whilst also demonstrating its vulnerabilities and failings. Charity ships remained on the Thames for many years after the *Shaftesbury*'s demise in 1905, but it was the last certified industrial school ship to be launched. Some industrial and reformatory school ships, such as the *Wellesley* or *Akbar*, survived the end of the School Boards by transforming themselves into shore-based sea-training institutions. A few, like the *Clio*, re-certified under the 1908 Children's Act and limped on until the second decade of the twentieth-century. The cultural, political and administrative landscape that had supported the industrial school ship was disappearing even before the *Nubia* had been purchased. The *Shaftesbury*'s significance for historians across a number of fields lies not in a

discernable institutional legacy, but rather in the very aspects of its culture, context and administration that prevented it from being considered a valuable model to continue or replicate.

The marine sector was in recession and transition during the period, as sail gave way to steam and unionisation transformed British ports. It was a desperately uncertain period to manage a training ship. The *Shaftesbury*'s closest docks, Tilbury, went on strike in 1888, amidst a wave of industrial action that led to the 1889 Great London Dock Strike. Scriven frequently attributed his failure to find boys berths to unionisation, and the inmates' prospects and life courses can be seen as ripples sent by larger movements within the troubled sector. For historians concerned with the state of the marine sector at the close of the nineteenth century, the *Shaftesbury* offers an important case study. It records the difficulties of the sector in its transition towards steam and improved worker rights of the Marine Acts, but also the way in which industrial school ships - a potential supplier of considerable numbers of seamen to the industry - failed to effectively understand and integrate with the volatile market. These failures arguably represented failures of the sector in general to conceptualise the changes that steam would mean for work at sea. During the twenty years of this study, the value of centuries of habitus and cultural capital jealously guarded by the marine sector was quietly evaporating before their eyes. The *Shaftesbury*'s story encompasses this through the biography of boys risking lives sail-drilling in rigging only to land roles as bar stewards on passenger liners. For the Royal Navy, such anachronism was still valued. The international shipping market was less sentimental.

Perhaps more significantly, the *Shaftesbury* is an example of a cultural entity side-lined by emergent trends in welfare theory and provision during the last twenty years of the nineteenth-century. As the product of an eccentric merger between the Industrial School Acts and Education Acts, we may plot its growing obsolescence in a series of significant public reports met in this thesis: the investigations into the St Paul's and Upton House industrial school scandals, and the DCRIC in 1896. As far back as 1879, the prisons inspectorate was

questioning the morality of a system that punished occasional truancy with years in residential care.¹⁰⁴ By 1896, the DCRIC angrily drew attention to the fact that children sentenced to industrial schools for minor infringements such as truancy could actually find themselves transferred later to reformatories for even longer terms.¹⁰⁵ It recommended that public bodies turn away from what it referred to as 'Asylum Theory', the belief that the chance of a better life on board an institution such as the *Shaftesbury* was sufficient grounds to take a child from neglectful or inadequate parents. More focus was to be placed upon the parents, a notion that built towards a raft of landmark legislation in the first decade of the twentieth century, including the 1908 Children's Act. This, perhaps, is the broadest historical significance of the *Shaftesbury*: being an institution that embodied the clash between retreating and emergent norms of criminality, punishment, 'asylum', intervention, and care.

The central irony of the *Shaftesbury* was that of the SBL in general: that an institution so committed to improving the material and pedagogical quality of 'schooling' could also be so committed to the large scale institutionalisation of children, often for apparently trivial 'crimes'. The much-discussed aesthetics of the ship may be read as a kind of displacement activity in this context. As if the care signalled by the material furnishing of the ship excused or justified the brutal severance of child from parental care or home environment. The *Shaftesbury* forms a fascinating study of the closing decades of the moral environmentalism that Felix Driver discusses earlier in the nineteenth-century.¹⁰⁶ Whilst it is true that many on the *Shaftesbury* appear to have been rescued from conditions of care that would have demanded intervention under later notions of child protection, this was not always the case. The *Shaftesbury*

¹⁰⁴ *Twenty-Second Report of the Inspector of Reformatory and Industrial Schools of Great Britain* (London: HMSO, 1879).

¹⁰⁵ One of the recommendations of the DCRIC was that the ability of industrial schools to send inmates to reformatories or prison for breaking school rules should be abolished as it 'appears to us a vestige of the prison-school system'. The outcome was the eventual removal of the need for imprisonment before reformatory, which actually somewhat streamlined the process between industrial school and reformatory. DCRIC: II, p. 94

¹⁰⁶ Driver, *Moral Geographies*.

and the other punitive residential institutions up and down the country created or patronised by the SBL should remain in the foreground of historians' minds as they evaluate the School Board. The SBL was an administration concerned as much with policing working-class children, families, and districts of the city, as it was about schooling. It was never simply about getting children into school, but more broadly about clearing children from the home and streets. School compulsion was part of a broader strategy that included the individuation, criminalisation and imprisonment of children.

At the abolition of the School Boards, the London County Council (LCC), as Benson has noted, was keen to offload the *Shaftesbury*. The LCC suggested its decision to scrap the *Shaftesbury* was based on the cost of repairs, but the truth was that the *Shaftesbury* was a flagship for much that the LCC opposed. Institutional models were shifting towards the standardisation of care that eventually offered new, but no less brutalising interventions: the psychologising of juvenile crime, medicalising of child behaviour, and the borstal. In this context, the importance of the *Shaftesbury*, as a 'better' industrial school (ship), is to show that the cultural institutions condemned by the paradigmatic shift in child welfare and punishment models were not all simply dehumanising barracks. The SBL considered itself a progressive, humane administration and the *Shaftesbury*, as opposed to Upton House, mirrored this narrative back to the SBL. This thesis has shown that at least one industrial school ship was greatly concerned with issues such as the moderation of punishment, inmate agency, and pastoral care. Indeed the SBL administration's known weaknesses facilitated overlooked strengths. The chaos of competing stakeholders, politicised committees, and intricate layers of bureaucracy enabled spaces for private philanthropy to prosper. Scriven's own deep religious convictions and the interests of successive managers inscribed themselves on the ship's culture in a way that made the institution materially and culturally distinct. The spaces for such experiments and eccentricities as found on the *Shaftesbury* and *Wellesley* – at opposing normative poles of the industrial school sector – closed as the new century progressed.

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